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Survival Past the Century Mark

By NATHANIEL WEYL

Man's quest for longevity antedates both Genesis and Greek mythology. It has roots as universal as man's consciousness of the inevitability of his own death.

From the Greek heroes to the Hebrew patriarchs, the dream of longevity has involved prolongation of physical, sexual and mental vigor—an intensification of the quality of life rather than the mere prolongation of senility and pain.

Death is an essential part of the evolutionary process. Given the fact that the biosphere cannot accommodate an infinite number of human beings, the old must die if the newly born are to find ecological niches in which they can survive. If death ever took a holiday, birth would also have to go on furlough. Victory over death would mean suspension of the evolutionary development of the human species; prolongation of the lifespan would involve retarding man's evolutionary adaptation to his habitat.

OUTSTANDING SURVIVORS AND ACHIEVERS

In his challenging book, *Age and Achievement*, Professor Harvey C. Lehman found that most great scientific discoveries are made before age 35. The more intellectually demanding the field, the lower the age of peak creativity. The decline of mental power with age is most rapid and most decisive among those poorly endowed. Highly intelligent people tend to retain a large part of their mental ability into advanced old age.

Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) published the first two volumes of *Kosmos*, a work designed to epitomize and co-ordinate all the scientific knowledge of his time, when he was 76 to 78. The third and fourth volumes appeared when Humboldt was 81 and 89.

Dr Charles Greeley Abbott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and a world authority on the astronomy of the sun, designed one of the first solar energy power systems at 64 and was a pioneer advocate of the use of solar energy to desalinate the earth's deserts and thus increase world food supply. He was still working part-time on 31st May 1972 when his hundredth birthday was celebrated.

Liberty Hyde Bailey's *Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture*, published by Macmillan in 1900, brought him fame as perhaps the first American to treat that subject as an applied science. At a Sunday morning cocktail party in Georgetown, British Guiana, in 1948, Dr Bailey, who was then 90, complained to the writer that he was no longer able to cut his way through the bush with

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his machete, but had to hire a Negro for that purpose and ride behind him on a donkey. When he finished his work on the palm trees of the world, he added, he would retire and give younger men a chance. When Dr Bailey died at 96, he had published 63 books, edited four encyclopaedic works in his field, headed a government commission, written two volumes of poetry, and published articles on formal philosophy.

Another great survivor was Titian, who was supposedly at work on a canvas in his Venice studio when the plague carried him off at 86. Benjamin Franklin swam every day until 80, dying at 84. Inaugurated President at 57, John Quincy Adams sometimes began his official day by stripping to the buff and swimming the Potomac from the White House Lawn. Peyton Rous received the Nobel Prize in 1956 at age 87 for his classic earlier experiments which showed that some animal cancers are virus-linked.

When one considers that grandmaster chess is a young man's game because it probably involves more intense and sustained brain work than any other human activity, the case of Wilhelm Steinitz is remarkable. An Austrian Jewish genius who struggled all his life against destitution and died in a poor house, Steinitz held the world chess championship for 27 years. When he lost it, part of his mind cracked. He carried on conversations on an invisible telephone and believed that he was playing chess with God, giving the Deity pawn-and-move handicap. Confined to the Morossow sanitarium in Moscow, he wrote a friend: "Like all lunatics, I imagine the doctors are crazier than I am." The remarkable thing about Steinitz is that, when released from the sanitarium, he went back to tournament chess and defeated Emmanual Lasker, the world champion.

In athletics, extreme longevity is rarer. Here the aged are generally, but not always, confined to contests requiring neither speed nor strength. Thus, C. Arthur Thompson may be the only golfer to have shot a score lower than his age. He shot 96 at age 97.

In 1955, Jerry Ameling (83) and Joseph Lehnbeutter (82) competed in an American Bowling Congress tournament. The oldest Olympic medalist was Oscar G. Swahn of Sweden who took a silver medal in 1920 at age 73 for shooting running deer. Pierre Etchbaster's achievement required more vigor. For 27 years he was undefeated world amateur tennis champion, retiring in 1955 at age 60. Then there was 55-year-old William E. Barnie who swam the 21-mile wide English Channel in 1964.

Kings, clergymen and politicians chalk up more impressive records for longevity in office than athletes and intellectuals. Senility appears to be a less insurmountable barrier to the performance of their duties.

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Pepi II, an Egyptian Pharoah, ascended the throne at age six in B.C. 2272 and held down the job for 91 years. Both Christian Hornsrud, a Prime Minister of Norway, and Josef Madarasz, who held the same office in Hungary, lived to see their 101st birthdays. El Hadji Mohammed el Mokri, a Grand Vizier of Morocco, died in 1957 at the alleged age of 112. And in Clinton County, Missouri, Albert R. Alexander retired from his duties as magistrate in 1965 at the age of 105 years eight months.

The princes of the Roman Catholic Church are outstandingly good at surviving according to the data in that invaluable compendium the *Guinness Book of World Records.* Elevated in 678 A.D. at the reputed age of 103, Pope St Agatho served for three years. A more solidly evidenced case is that of Leo XIII, named Pope in 1878 and deceased 25 years later at age 93. In 1972, the College of Cardinals had a 92-year-old member, Cardinal Bishop Paolo Giobbe. Bishop Alfonso Carinci held office until his death in 1963 at age 101. Herbert Welch, Bishop for Japan and Korea of the United Methodist Church, died at age 106 in 1969.

What this shows is not that "you are only as old as you think," but merely that a few individuals are able to perform competently at physical, mental or bureaucratic tasks well beyond the normal age of retirement. Observed variations in the relationship of chronological age to senility and loss of physical and mental powers seem no greater than the range of variation between one person and the next in such other measurements as height, strength, dexterity, musical perception, intelligence and sexual vitality. Establishing the fact that some people have been productive at ages when most of their contemporaries were invalids or dead does not prove that everyone can follow their example. We do not know the extent to which differences in capacity for survival are genetically determined. Even if we should find that environmental forces are primary, it would not necessarily follow that the average adult can retain physical, sexual and mental vigor by transplanting himself to a more favorable environment nor would doing so guarantee adding to his lifespan.

THE DUKE UNIVERSITY STUDY

After an in-depth study of the aging process in a North Carolina sample of 502 healthy subjects aged 46 to 70, the Duke University Center for the Study of Aging and Human Development concluded that heredity sets the limits of lifespan, but that 38 environmental variables determine the extent to which these limits will be approximated.

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Key elements in vigor and survival were work satisfaction, a positive and optimistic approach to life, general health, and regular exercise. Retirement and cessation of physical activity tended to hasten death as did the psychic stress of being moved into a new environment.

Intact marriages and "high intelligence" were two characteristics of long-term survivors. On the Wechler Adult Intelligence Scale (W.A.I.S.), long-lived women had average I.Q.s 31 points higher than those with short lifespans. For men, the spread was 25 I.Q. points in the same direction.

Those who lived longer had on average four more years of schooling. Class differences worked in the same direction. Manual workers constituted 60 per cent of those who died early, only 30 per cent of those who died late. Among women, manual workers were 24 per cent of those with long lifespans, 71 per cent of those with short lifespans.

Those who stayed married lived significantly longer than the divorced, separated, widows and widowers. Sexual activity tapered off with increasing age. At 56-60, 51 per cent of the men had intercourse at least once a week; at 61-65 only 37 per cent and at 66-71 a mere 28 per cent. Reflecting the preponderance of widows over widowers, sexual activity among the women studied was even more infrequent.

Physicians and gerontologists stress that sexual activity among old people is normal and that its repression can be physically traumatic. On the other hand, there is no convincing evidence that members of the Catholic clergy had shorter lifespans than their noncelibate Protestant counterparts.

THE SEARCH FOR CENTENARIANS

Aging, a U.S. Government periodical, reported in 1971 that there were 5253 centenarians on Social Security, an increase of 2053 in two years which was probably attributable to better reporting. New York State led the nation with 542, followed by California with 498, Pennsylvania with 388, Illinois with 286 and Michigan with 196. Florida had 148. The geographical distribution may reflect past, more than present, population since the very old are not mobile. The editors concluded that there may be as many as 15,000 centenarians in the nation.

On the other hand, Robert J. Myers, Chief Actuary of the Social Security Administration, analyzed the available records on 10,000 self-styled centenarians and concluded that only 3,700 were genuine. An analysis of the 1901 and 1911 censuses for England and Wales indicated that the very old tend to advance their age from 15 to 17 years every decade.

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The most reliable available documentation on Americans born more than a century ago is the records of the Union Army in the Civil War. They show that by 1945 only 210 of the approximately 2.1 million men who served were still drawing pensions. These survivors were probably between 15 and 20 at the close of hostility in 1865, the lower age applying to drummer boys. The indicated ratio checks with the estimate of 15,000 centenarians in the present U.S. population.

The last Union Army veteran died at age 110. His Confederate counterpart, John B. Salling, died in 1959 a day after celebrating his 115th birthday. If the Southerner lived longer, the reason may be that Confederate records are less accurate.

There are not only great survivors, but great prevaricators and an inbetween group of unknown veracity. On 13th October 1972, *Life* magazine published an article by former slave, gambler, bootlegger, and outlaw, Charlie Smith of Bartow, Florida, who claimed to have just celebrated his 130th birthday. In a more sceptical treatment of the same subject five years earlier, *Time* noted the big gaps in Charlie's story of having been lured on to a slave ship in Liberia and put on a New Orleans auction block in 1855: "None of the evidence specifically mentions him or proves he was born when and where he says he was." Charlie Smith's recipe for passing the century mark was to eat raw sausages and crackers and drink 7-Up. "I never drank green (raw) milk—only chocolate," he told reporters.

The *Guinness Book of World Records* observes that there is a positive correlation of 0.83 between "the claimed density of centenarians in a country and regional illiteracy." This can be interpreted as evidence that the very old lie unconscionably about their age or alternately as signifying that civilization brings death-hastening ecological damage together with literacy.

Preposterous claims to longevity are as old as man's ability to use language to conceal the truth. One of the best known cases is that of Christian Jakobsen Drackenberg, a seventeenth century Norwegian who allegedly lived 145 years and 326 days. The "oldest man on earth," according to a 1933 Peking news dispatch, was Li Chung-yun who was supposedly born in 1680 and lived for 256 years. The author of this dispatch should have delayed filing it until 1936!

On the basis of careful study of the birth and death statistics of the very few countries which have accurate records stretching back a century in time, actuaries have concluded that there seem to be formidable barriers to extending human life beyond 115 under the conditions prevailing in civilized countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Sweden is the only nation which has systematically investigated the longevity claims of all of her

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very old citizens. Not one has been found who lived beyond 110. The accurate records of the British peerage disclose only one who passed the century mark. Actuaries have placed the chance at living to 115 as about one in two billion. If so, two such people should exist today and fewer than half a dozen in the entire history of *Homo sapiens.*

ABKHASIANS AND HUNZAKUTS

If there is any inherent reason for the 115 barrier, we do not know what it is. Moreover, while we know that it applies to advanced nations, the belief that it also limits more primitive peoples is mere inference.

Against the pessimistic actuarial view, we have a good deal of testimony, much of it from highly reputable physicians of unquestioned integrity, concerning enclaves of almost perpetual vigor and vitality where death comes longer after the century mark and where the greater killer-diseases of modern society are either rare or unknown.

These havens of arrested aging are generally in rather remote portions of the world or in areas with a topographical, linguistic or ethnic barrier between natives and outsiders. The two most important areas of reputed super-longevity are Abkhasia in Soviet Georgia and the Hunza country at the northeastern extremity of Pakistan in the giant Hindu Kush mountain ranges where Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sinkiang and Soviet Asia meet. There is also the small Vilcabamba montane valley in southern Ecuador.

The 1970 Soviet Census states that there are 4500 to 5000 centenarians in the Caucasus, of whom 1844 live in Georgia and 2500 in Azerbaijan. This gives 39 centenarians per 100,000 in Georgia and 63 in Azerbaijan against a corresponding U.S. figure of about eight. The Russians also claim possession of a citizen named Shirali Mislimov, who is stated to have been 168 years old in 1973 and hence probably the world's oldest living human being. Mislimov reportedly rides horseback and still tends his orchard. However, no Western correspondents, medical men, or scientists have been permitted to see him.

The immense age of the Hunzakuts is supported merely by the oral statements of those now living. The 40,000 inhabitants of this mountain region speak Burushaki which "bears no relationship to any other language on earth." No written records exist. The Hunza country began to attract world attention about 50 years ago because of the exceptional health of its old men and women. The collective image of immense longevity stems from this fact. We have no hard evidence which would reveal whether the claims are true or false.

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The Vilcabamba region is a small, isolated, impoverished valley boxed off by mountains on all four sides. The 1971 Ecuadorean Census claimed that it possessed nine individuals over 100 in a total population of 819. This would correspond to more than two million centenarians in the United States. The Vilcabamba claims were based on baptismal records and on the testimony of friends and relatives of the super-aged.

ARE THEY REALLY THAT OLD?

Unfortunately, human beings are not trees. Since they do not add growth rings every year not even autopsies provide a basis for verification or disproof of claims to great longevity.

Scepticism concerning Hunza and Abkhasian longevity is based on the fact that no radically new environmental component has been found in these habitats that might explain a decisive breaching of the 115 age barrier. This does not mean that none exists.

If there is no authenticated record of any human being reaching 115, that does not mean that we can assume that human life is programmed for this upper limit. We do know that transplanted human connective cell tissue will subdivide exactly 50 times, then die. If the cell division process is artificially interrupted, then after a hiatus resumed, mitosis still stops at the 50th division.

But we cannot infer from this that the 50-division limit is built into the human life process. Nor do we know that it corresponds to 115 chronological years. Even if both statements should be true, we do not know whether there are environmental factors which might radically change the picture.

The vital importance of knowing whether the Hunzakuts and the Abkhasians have pierced the 115 barrier is that an answer would give us a better idea of just how rigid and inductable that programming for death is, assuming that it exists at all. Should we establish that it has been breached, we would want to know the extent to which genetic and the extent to which environmental factors are responsible. And if environmental conditions play a major rôle, we would want to know what they are and whether or not they can be replicated.

The Ecuadorean case for super-longevity is probably the weakest. The members of this toiling, almost destitute community—food intake averages 1200 calories or close to the hunger level—have gained international attention and probably material rewards from their claims. The Vilcabamba achievement is a source of national pride to Ecuador. Under these circumstances, we cannot overlook the possibility that birth and baptismal records have been altered. An alternate explanation is that we are dealing with one inbred familial strain of super-survivors, in short a case of genetic drift.

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The Hunza case may be similar. Longevity claims are based on oral testimony. Topographical and linguistic isolation is combined with ethnic pride and unwillingness to mix their genes with those of their neighbors. The Hunzakuts boast partial descent from the soldiers of Alexander the Great who passed through their region in B.C. 328. The more isolated and self-contained a society, the greater its ability and perhaps its temptation, to deceive outsiders.

The Abkhasians are by no means inaccessible since they inhabit a portion of Soviet Georgia which descends from the Caucasus range to the shores of the Black Sea. Here the barrier is one of stock and language. The Abkhasians are largely endogamous. Their language contains 50 to 56 consonant phonemes, the sounds of which "cannot be represented by any combination of letters in an Indo-European alphabet." Their speech, which sounds like "gentle explosions" and includes "a wavering trill, whistling noises, and a prolonged buzz," is an unbreakable code for most foreigners. Until the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, they had no written language. This communications barrier would enable Abkhasians to pretend to greater longevity than they in fact possess with little fear of detection.

The Soviet Government developed an interest in Abkhasian longevity by the mid-thirties. More recently, age documentation has been under the direction of G. E. Pitzkhelauri of the gerontological center in Tbilisi (formerly Tiflis), Georgia. He and his staff gave primary weight to such documentation as attestation of birth year by Moslem imams or Greek Orthodox priests. Other documentation included "letters or even carvings on doors," an intriguing observation since no Abkhasian alphabet existed until 1922-23.

Following the Soviet 1959 Census a detailed study was made of the oldest Abkhasians. The Soviet investigators asked the informants their ages at such important times as the outbreak of the 1878 war with Turkey, winters with unusually hard freezes, the dates of birth and marriage of their children, etc. If the answers yielded a reasonably coherent pattern, it was assumed that the respondents were telling the truth. In the example given by Dr Alexander Leaf, the answers given indicated that the person queried was between 131 and 142. This range of error seemed satisfactory to the American medical visitor. The underlying assumption was that the Abkhasians were mentally incapable of adding 20 to 50 years to their ages and coming out with reasonably consistent replies.

Is the whole thing a hoax? Not entirely. We have hard and convincing evidence that these people are singularly vigorous and

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amazingly free from the most lethal diseases of old age. More than half a century ago, this gave them and the Hunzakuts an international reputation for exuberant health and hence for extraordinary longevity.

The first reason to suspect the reports of Abkhasian longevity is that these people provide a propaganda show window for the Soviet régime. Despite the fact that the Abkhasians owe whatever health and longevity they enjoy primarily to living conditions under the Czars, distinguished foreigners are periodically invited to Georgia to marvel at the vigor of these simple Soviet citizens.

The discovery of Abkhasian superlongevity began in the 1930s when the Stalin terror was getting under way. For a Soviet scientist to have publicly entertained doubts about the legions of Georgia centenarians in that era would have indicated a strong death wish. Under present conditions, scientists who advance negative evidence would not face equally dire reprisals. But since all publication outlets and academic and research positions are monopolized by the Soviet state such a sceptic would not only be jeopardizing his career and chances of advancement; he would probably be unable to publish his findings.

On the Abkhasian side, the motives for deception are equally compelling. Their reputation as Methuselahs has brought them droves of foreign and domestic visitors, flattering attention, fame and perhaps more material advantages. A dissenter would be deemed a betrayer of his people. The inbred character of the population, its possession of a language that hardly anybody else understands, and its patriarchal institutions are all conducive to successful deception.

As for the American and other Western scholars who have accepted the Soviet claims, there is no evidence that they were given opportunity to study the raw data from the interviews or that they had the linguistic competence to do so.

Thus, the Soviet claims concerning the advanced ages of their Abkhasian subjects should be viewed with scepticism. The similar Hunza claims are based on oral evidence. Those for Vilcabamba also seem dubious.

This does not negate the fact that the Hunza and Abkhasian regions are undoubtedly characterized by vigorous health and a comparative freedom from disease at advanced ages that the West lacks. An inquiry into the causes of that condition is potentially of great importance for the peoples of modern, industrialized societies.

PORTRAIT OF SHANGRI-LA

Diets are low in calories and lower in meat, fats and sugar than American and other Western norms. Either whole-grained

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or coarse-ground cereals form the basis of nutrition. Hunzakuts and Abkhasians eat a great deal of fruit and vegetables, generally consuming them raw. Both peoples consume yogurt-like preparations: the buttermilk of the Hunzakuts and *matzoni*, a fermented preparation from the milk of sheep, goats and cows, of which the Abkhasians drink two or three glasses daily.

The average American adult consumes 3300 calories daily according to a U.S. Department of Agriculture study—100 grams of protein, 157 of fat and 380 of carbohydrates. In 1968, the National Academy of Sciences recommended that men over 55 consume 2400 calories with 65 grams of protein.

By comparison, a study of 55 adult male Hunzakuts by Pakistani nutritionist Dr S. Maqsood Ali showed average intake of 1923 calories with 50 grams of protein, 36 of fat and 354 of carbohydrates.

The Abkhasians are heavier eaters. Dr Pitzkhelauri found that a sample of over a thousand people, aged 80 and over and including more than a hundred reputed centenarians, averaged 1700 to 1900 calories. Moreover, 30 per cent of their calories came from meat and dairy products. There is a conflict of testimony as to whether they "have meat and wine every day" or meat only "once or twice a week." While obesity is virtually unknown in Vilcabamba and the Hunza country, Dr Leaf encountered "an overwtight centenarian, a phenomenon I would not have thought possible." He also found an Abkhasian who claimed to be over 130 and to have smoked a packet of cigarettes daily for the previous 62 years.

One possible clue is Spartan eating habits during early life. In pre-Soviet times, the region was poor. Under Turkish domination, the Abkhasians lived on beans and other vegetables. Animal experiments indicate that a low-calory diet in the growth years stretches the lifespan.

In Abkhasia, married couples live considerably longer than celibates, separated persons, widows or widowers. Sexual life continues until old age. Dr Leaf, after talking to a large number of Abkhasians, concluded that they consider that a normal man loses his potency at 100.

"The general opinion of Abkhasians," writes cultural anthropologist Sula Benet, "is that regular sexual relations should start late in life because abstinence will prolong sexual potency and promote well-being." Men are supposed to postpone marriage till 30 and abstain from sexual intercourse until then. This practice probably contributed to the rugged health of the present generation. In a time of incessant feuds, brigandage, invasion, and endemic diseases, young men were prevented from siring children until they reached an age at which the weak, the slow, the incom-

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petent and the unintelligent had been largely killed off. This tended to confine reproduction to the best and the sturdiest.

Abkhasians never retire. They continue to do field and farm work until advanced ages, choosing lighter tasks as they age. They die soon after they stop work. This may mean that the psychological impact of retirement is lethal or, perhaps more probably, that they are supposed to keep on working until their condition is terminal.

All sociologists, political scientists and cultural anthropologists who investigate these areas stress as a positive factor that the aged are an esteemed, working element of the community and that their advice is sought on all community problems. This practice may be feasible in static, tradition-bound societies concerned with perpetuating folkways. It would be much harder in modern societies where the leadership rôle involves mastering and applying a rapidly expanding corpus of technological and scientific knowledge.

One thing Abkhasia and the Hunza region have in common is that they are in the midst of some of the highest mountains in the world or else in montane valleys—the Caucasus and the Hindu Kush. However, photographs of these peoples who boast such extraordinary lifespans do not suggest that they have the characteristic physical type of the denizens of high altitudes. They do not seem to be barrel-chested folk with the outsize lung capacity needed to extract oxygen requirements from rarefied air.

Their mountain habitat may be relevant to their health in other ways. They breathe air of exceptional purity either because of remoteness from industrial and urban foci of pollution or because they are barricaded against them by mountains. They enjoy pure drinking water from the snow and ice melts of the high mountains. Their physical exercise involves incessant walking and climbing in rugged mountain terrain even for such prosaic tasks as fetching drinking water and fodder or herding sheep and goats. This almost certainly provides a far better stimulus to the heart muscle than the plodding labor of the coolies of the Asian lowlands.

Finally, the mountains isolate them genetically from outsiders. These barriers create separate languages, social customs, religions and dietary laws. The last are most important because people who are ritually forbidden to eat together do not sleep together.

The mountains are barricades against occupation by invaders. Thus, Sula Benet tells us that the Abkhasians have inhabited the same area for at least two thousand years and have avoided mingling their blood with that of strangers. This has given them

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a fairly pure-bred strain which has been adjusted to their habitat at winnowing out those least able to meet its challenges. Mixed stocks and races provide variety and may therefore be better able to meet the changing challenges of advanced societies. Pure-bred stocks are more successful at tradition-bound adaptation to physical habitat.

FREEDOM FROM DISEASE

One of the most extraordinary features of these enclaves is that their inhabitants seem to be largely free from those degenerative diseases which kill off the great majority of old people in the western civilization area.

Robert McCarrison, M.D. (later Major-General McCarrison) reported in his pioneer work, *Studies in Deficiency Disease* (1921) that he had seen no cases of asthenic dyspepsia, gastric or duodenal ulcer, appendicitis or cancer among the Hunzakuts. As for the Abkhasians, Sula Benet claimed that Soviet doctors found " no cases of mental illness or cancer among the aged." Cases of arteriosclerosis were found " only in extreme old age."

However, the Georgian cardiologist David Kakiashvili, M.D., tested the lungs and hearts of the Abkhasian aged and found that " they have all kinds of cardiovascular diseases." They tolerate myocardial infection because " the constant physical activity required of them improves cardiopulmonary function so that the oxygen supply to the heart muscle is much superior to that in city dwellers." One might say that they have silent heart attacks and overcome them.

All investigators have accented the contrast between the vigorous aged of these primitive societies and the mental senility, invalidism, impotence and physical decay so common among the aged population of modern societies. The supposed moral is that the simple, natural life, uncontaminated by the institutions and techniques of civilization, can lead to exuberant health.

But can it? If frugal eating, constant exercise, consumption of whole grains, avoidance of excessive fats and sugars, and vegetable rather than animal diet are keys to health and longevity, how about the vast areas of poverty throughout the world in which these conditions prevail, but where life is short and sickness omnipresent?

The contrast between civilized man and the Abkhasians and Hunzakuts tells only part of the story. What is needed is an epidemiological survey that would isolate every one of the favorable conditions which supposedly contribute to the health and lifespan of the Hunzakuts and Abkhasians. It would find out what other regions in the underdeveloped portions of the globe

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exist in which these conditions exist and whether they are there associated with health and longevity or with their reverse.

The fact that the whole Abkhasian population works, that nobody retires, that the children and the old toil part time is certainly not peculiar to the region. It is a general condition wherever you have poor but industrious people who are technologically backward.

The incessant climbing and scrambling from the valleys to the mountains is more or less common to all agricultural and pastoral hill people. Specifically, how about the transhument peoples who spend most of their lives following their herds from the lowland winter pastures to the high meadows of summer grazing land? Vestiges of such societies remain scattered across the earth. They are not noted for longevity.

We do not know the answers to the most important questions. The longevity and exuberant-health enclaves have not been systematically analyzed with the techniques of modern medical and physiological research. Soviet scientists have studied the Abkhasians for decades and have come up with valuable findings. But the monopoly of Soviet scientific resources in the hands of the state and the propaganda value of the Abkhasian "miracle" militate against the objectivity that is needed if the keys to the superior health of this favored region are to be found.

Theodosius G. Dobzhansky

Theodosius Grigorievich Dobzhansky was born near Kiev. He studied at the University of Kiev and after graduation lectured in genetics at the University of Leningrad until 1927, when he went to the United States. He was noted for his studies on drosophila. He died on 18th December 1975 in Davis, California.

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Race and Culture: A Case from the Bahamian Out-Islands

By ALAN G. LAFLAMME

The Bahamian archipelago consists of over 3000 islands with a combined surface area of about 4400 square miles. Only 1 per cent of these islands are inhabited at present. The Bahamian population is approaching 200,000 and has a density of about 45 persons per square mile. Censuses conducted by the Bahamian Government do not include racial information. Most estimates tend to agree, however, that the population is approximately 85 per cent Negro or predominantly Negro and 15 per cent Caucasian. Most Negroes are descended from slaves of West African origin; most Caucasians are descended from British settlers.

The vast majority of Bahamian communities are monoracial. One exception is that of Green Turtle Cay, a small island in the Northern Bahamas. Idiosyncratic patterns of manumission and land allocation to former slaves in the early nineteenth century account for this regional anomaly. Green Turtle Cay's 1968 population of 342 was 57 per cent Caucasian and 43 per cent Negro. Miscegenation has never been a common practice; hence, the two racially defined groups have experienced almost no gene-flow. To a lesser extent, Green Turtle Cay's two racially defined groups have maintained a degree of cultural distinctiveness as well.

Initial occupation of Green Turtle Cay took place during the 1780s. Loyalists from the rebellious American Colonies settled many Bahamian islands and brought their slaves along. Early attempts to establish a plantation economy failed. Green Turtle Cay's residents ultimately adapted to the island ecosystem through horticulture, fishing and a limited amount of commerce. Traditionally, their commercial ventures involved both Negro and Caucasian labour coupled with Caucasian entrepreneurial leadership. Allocation of jobs and material wealth has always been controlled by influential business organisers. The resulting socio-cultural system has maintained the dualism that the Loyalists and their slaves brought to the island. Cultural differences between Green Turtle Cay's racial groups run the gamut from occupational specialisations through social organisation to ideological tenets.

In terms of occupational specialisations, Negroes are more likely than Caucasians to be: farmers, masons, construction labourers, or domestic servants. Caucasians, on the other hand,

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are more frequently active as: carpenters, fishermen, shopkeepers, and entrepreneurs. The skilled trades of mason and carpenter are normally passed on within specific families; therefore, racial differences are not wholly unexpected. The dichotomy of Negroes working the land while Caucasians go to sea may be traced back to the slavery era when the latter had free movement and the former did not. Similarly, Negroes as domestic workers and Caucasians as shopkeepers and entrepreneurs reflects Green Turtle Cay's economic history. Negroes doing unskilled construction labour is also congruent with a master-slave heritage. In summary, 41.2 per cent of male Caucasians work in skilled trades and 39.2 per cent are in business. With Negroes, 39.3 per cent are unskilled labourers and 25 per cent are in service occupations.

Just as Caucasians tend to have more highly esteemed occupations, they have more occupational versatility than do their Negro counterparts. Occupational versatility is, of course, adaptive in a developing economic system such as that of the recently independent Bahama Islands. Among Caucasian males, 56.9 per cent have one specialisation, 29.4 per cent have two specialisations, and 13.7 per cent have three specialisations. Among Negro males, the corresponding figures are 85.7 per cent, 10.7 per cent, and 3.5 per cent. These figures reflect the fact that Caucasians, due to their superior capital accumulation and less restricted traditions, enjoy opportunities that are less likely to be experienced by Negroes. As a consequence, Green Turtle Cay's Caucasian majority has a higher material standard of living than does its Negro minority.

In terms of social organisation, Green Turtle Cay's Caucasian population is statistically different from its Negro population with regard to: mating practices, household organisation, and emigration. Community standards of morality allow for a single option mating system with marriage as the sole acceptable alternative. Among Caucasians, 68.8 per cent of marriages involve both partners as island natives. The figure for Negroes is only 40 per cent. Related to this phenomenon, Caucasians freely marry colaterals as close as second cousins while Negroes disapprove of unions between individuals with any demonstrable consanguineal relationship. A high incidence of cataracts among Caucasians may well be a consequence of this pattern of inbreeding. On a number of nearby all-Caucasian islands, there are high frequencies of dwarfism, feeblemindedness, and polydactylism. Local Negroes, with a much larger gene-pool to rely upon, lack such regular maladies.

Despite community sentiment against extra-marital mating, there are occasional illegitimate births in both populations. Chil-

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dren born out of wedlock, known as "outside children," are rather common in many parts of the Bahamas. For example, Otterbein reports a figure of 32 per cent for the community of Long Bay Cays on Andros Island. On Green Turtle Cay, the illegitimacy rate for Caucasians is 4.6 per cent and for Negroes it is 9.5 per cent. Such relatively low rates of illegitimacy reflect both British cultural values and the strong missionary activity that the area has experienced over the past century. In addition to the differing rates of illegitimacy, there are populational differences in the attitude toward this social phenomenon. Among Caucasians, illegitimacy is perceived as a topic to be hidden and avoided. Among Negroes, it is perceived of as wrong but somewhat natural under certain circumstances. As a consequence, the stigma attached to "outside" status is more serious for the former than it is for the latter.

Among both Caucasians and Negroes, male-headed households are the norm. Such households account for 80.3 per cent of the Caucasian total and 73.5 per cent of the Negro total. Nuclear family households alone account for 65.6 per cent of the Caucasian total and 50 per cent of the Negro total. Denuded nuclear family households (one parent missing) are more common among Negroes at 5.9 per cent than for Caucasians at 1.6 per cent. Also, grandparent households (first and third generations with second generation missing) are more common among Negroes at 11.8 per cent than Caucasians at 4.9 per cent.

There are two main reasons for the differing frequencies of household type. First, Negroes have a higher desertion rate and a slightly higher death rate than Caucasians. Thus the increased frequency of departures from the nuclear family household ideal. Second, as will be seen below, Negroes have a higher rate of emigration due to their relatively poorer prospects within Green Turtle Cay's economic sphere. Therefore, some parents leave their children with their own parents while working elsewhere. This is not an uncommon social adaptation in many parts of the Bahamas.

Perhaps more striking than the racial differences in household types are those in household size. Negro households have a mean size of 4.4 persons; Caucasian households have a mean size of 3.2 persons. When one considers nuclear family households, the figures are 6.2 persons and four persons respectively. For denuded nuclear family households, the Negro population has a five-person mean size while the Caucasian population has a three-person mean size. Finally, with regard to grandparent households, the respective mean sizes are 4.5 persons and 3.3 persons.

Two factors seem to account for these differing totals. First,

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Negroes on Green Turtle Cay have greater fertility (although as far as anyone knows, no greater fecundity) than their Caucasian counterparts. Negroes have more offspring per woman breeding than do Caucasians. Second, growing out of the island's economic inequality, Negroes have relatively fewer houses and must, therefore, live under more crowded domestic conditions.

Emigration from Green Turtle Cay has been a regular practice since the late nineteenth century. Reasons for this phenomenon have been: lack of suitable mates, boredom with life in a small and isolated island community, and a shortage of wage-labour opportunities. Today, the majority of emigrants go to Nassau, the Bahamian capital, Freeport, a large tourist center, Marsh Harbour, the nearest commercial center, or the United States. Emigration is approximately equal for males and females and is most likely to occur between the ages of 16 and 20 years. Relatively more Negroes than Caucasians emigrate. One reason for this is that Caucasian business operators tend to hire others of their race more frequently than they hire Negroes. Beyond the realm of employment opportunities, a sizeable number of Green Turtle Cay's residents are economically aided by their close relatives. To the extent that Negroes have less money to aid their kin, they are less able to induce them to remain on the island. Finally, Negroes who emigrate from Green Turtle Cay are, in most instances, leaving their minority status behind and entering communities where Negro populations prevail.

Green Turtle Cay's Caucasian and Negro populations depart from one another rather dramatically in terms of their ideologies. The religious ideologies are very much the same with fundamentalist Protestantism at the core. However, the secular ideologies are at variance in terms of beliefs about morality, race, and politics.

In terms of morality, Caucasians not only condone the practice of birth control, they consider it to be a matter of responsibility toward their children. Caucasians hold that large families cause material want and reduced attention toward children. Effective birth control is available through the use of both condoms and contraceptive pills. In sharp contrast, Green Turtle Cay's Negro population rejects the practice of birth control. Negro males value offspring as a sign of their virility; both males and females view large families as a potential source of strength for the Bahamian nation. As a further rationale for their proscription, Negroes cite several alleged biblical passages that purport to warn against parents killing their own babies. This differing moral stance is, of course, a contributing factor in the larger size of Negro families on the island.

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Another area of moral dispute between Negroes and Caucasians is that of the value of labour. Negroes express the belief that labour is merely a means to an end; it has no intrinsic worth. Caucasians frequently express the belief that labour is both a means to an end and an end in itself. Work, for them, is a morally positive act that reflects love for Creation. Despite such sentiments, it does not seem that Caucasiaans work any more or any harder than their Negro counterparts. More than anything else, these conflicting attitudes reflect the types of labour and the work traditions of the two populations.

Green Turtle Cay's racial enclaves have diametrically opposed beliefs about miscegenation. Caucasians consider it to be an immoral rejection of divine will. They profess belief in monogenesis with Negro (and other) racial diversification having occurred due to divinely-caused degeneration from God's Caucasian image. Negroes consider miscegenation to be a morally neutral practice. They maintain belief in polygenesis; that is, Negroes hold that divine Creation produced all of the world's races. Further, they believe that all races are equal and that God is a composite of them all.

" White Power " has been a fact of life on Green Turtle Cay since the eighteenth century. Although only named during the 1960s, this belief reflects the traditional assumption that Caucasians are morally and intellectually superior to Negroes. Local Caucasians viewed their control of wealth and power as right and natural. Congruent with such beliefs, Caucasians saw no reason for the termination of British colonial control of the Bahama Islands. In fact, most Caucasians perceived the end of British rule as a threat to their privileged position within Bahamian society and actively sought to halt the movement toward full independence. Subsequent to Bahamian independence, many of Green Turtle Cay's Caucasians stated their desire to secede from the Negro-led nation and create a Caucasian-led alternative.

" Black Power " as a term and as a socio-cultural phenomenon reached Green Turtle Cay during the late 1960s. The island's young and middle-aged Negroes, for the most part, accept this ideological complex. Older Negroes seem resigned to a secondary position. " Black Power " implies racial equality in morality and intellect; therefore, it justifies Negro social, political, and economic advances. The concept broke through Green Turtle Cay's isolation due to political changes in Nassau and radio and television broadcasts from the United States. " Black Power " soon came to include the desire for Bahamian independence as well. Independence was seen as assuring that the Negro majority of the Bahamas would never again be subject to inferior status.

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SUMMARY

Green Turtle Cay is a small island in the Out-Island Bahamas. It is occupied by two racially and culturally distinct populations, Caucasians and Negroes. Settled by Loyalists of British ancestry and their slaves during the American Revolution, Green Turtle Cay has witnessed no miscegenation and little cultural convergence. Differing heritages, wealth levels, and patterns of identification have meant that Caucasians and Negroes have maintained disparate occupational specialisations, social organisations, and ideological systems. Race has, then, clearly been the major factor in the island community's cultural realm for nearly two centuries.

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Orientals, Westerners and Ethnic Stratification in Israel

By Dr DAN SOEN*

THE ISSUE OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION IN ISRAEL

In many modern societies one finds a strong inter-relation between stratification based on economic criteria, social power and prestige on the one hand, and an imputed stratification based on ethnicity on the other hand.

As stated by Lieberson, there are societies where one may find both these stratification dimensions. These are the societies where one finds two or more ethnic groups that possess unequal access to economic positions or political power.[1] There is a widespread assumption that Israel, too, is undergoing such a process of ethnic stratification.

In his analysis of the process of immigration and social integration, Eisenstadt[2] points out that the social index for the integration of an ethnic group is its distribution along the whole spectrum of status groups in a uniform way, namely, in proportion to its size. A relative concentration of the ethnic group in a low-status stratus is indicative of failure in the integration process.

The starting point of this review is the fact that in the last 25 years Israel has been undergoing several major changes: —[3]

The country has become increasingly varied in both its human composition and the multiplicity of its social levels;

The property scale has acquired new and extreme values, and the disparity between the top and the bottom of the scale has therefore widely increased;

Parallel scales have come into being, and the lower rungs in any one of them have become parallel to the lower rungs in other scales.

Thus, sociologically speaking, *strata* have now crystallized in

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[1] S. Lieberson, "Stratification and Ethnic Groups," in E. O. Lauman (Editor), *Social Stratification: Research and Theory for the 1970s*, Bobles-Merril, 1970, p. 173.

[2] S. N. Eisenstadt, *Immigration and Social Integration* (Hebrew), The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1952.

[3] R. Bar Yosef and D. Padan, "Oriental Ethnic Groups in the Class Crystallization of Israel," in *Molad*, Israel, November 1964 (Hebrew); also in Dan Soen (Editor), *Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Problems in Israel*, Beth Berl College, Israel, Vol. 2, 1968, pp. 31-52.

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Israel; and, since these strata have their economic backgrounds, they may as well be called *classes*.

What is more, two ethnic groups have emerged and crystallized in Israel—an Oriental one and a Western one.[4] A feeling of difference and strangeness has started growing since the mass immigration of the late 1940s, and this, coupled with prejudice, has given rise to a superiority complex on the one hand, and an inferiority complex on the other hand. In short, strong ethnic consciousness has come into being. However, in the case of Israel, ethnic relations, like almost any other social topic, must be considered in relation to the overwhelming problem confronting the country—the all-pervading conflict with the surrounding Arab world.[5] Israel's society and the ethnic group relationship within it are deeply influenced by the Arab-Israeli conflict.

As stated by Amos Eylon, Arab hatred helps more than anything else to strengthen the feeling of common social aim, as well as unity and concord that prevail among people who are known for their inclination to fight among themselves. Were it not for the deep Arab enmity the grave tension between the dark Oriental immigrants and the European "whites" would have damaged the fabric of the new society.[6]

This brings us to the crux of the problem discussed below: immigrants from Oriental countries are, according to the objective yardsticks of social classification, concentrated within Israel's lower social strata. The combination of *this* factor with the communal factor gives rise to growing frustration. Such a compound frustration is, unquestionably, of a dangerous explosive nature and, in the past, has indeed reached the point of actual outbreak more than once. The violent disorders at the Yemenite neighborhood of Sha'arayim in Rehovoth (1956)[7] and in the Moroccan neighborhood of Wadi Salib, Haifa (1957)[8] are single cases in point; the emergence of the so-called Black Panther Movement (1972)[9] is another; the violent outburst in the Ha'tiqva quarter in southern Tel Aviv in November 1974 yet another.

[4] E. Ben Hayim, "The Gap Between the Ethnic Groups," *Oth* (Hebrew), Israel, Winter 1967.

[5] Yochanan Peres, "Ethnic Relations in Israel," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 76, No. 6, May 1971, p. 1021.

[6] Amos Eylon, *The Israelis—Founders and Sons* (Hebrew), Shoken Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1972, pp. 253-254.

[7] E. Katz and A. Zloczover, "Continuity of ethnic patterns in second generation" (Hebrew), in Dan Soen (Editor), *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 1-15.

[8] R. Bar-Josef: "The Moroccans—Background of a Problem" (Hebrew), in Dan Soen (Editor), *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 81-89.

[9] Erik Cohen, "The Black Panthers and Israel Society," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 14, June 1972, pp. 98-109.

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The situation in the so-called " development towns " (around 30 of them) is indicative as to what happens on the social level. Due to far-reaching segregation between the two major ethnic groups, there is only little personal egalitarian contact between them.[10] Cross-cutting primary ties are relatively few in number. Among newcomers most people tend to associate with friends, neighbors or colleagues from their own or some adjacent country of origin. The tendency towards integration makes itself felt among Europeans of higher socio-economic status; but this integration is confined to other European groups, with whom they have similar cultural or even economic interests. Orientals are not included in any significant numbers in the primary groups of the socio-economic élite of the Europeans. One of the reasons for this may be the very small number of Oriental immigrants of corresponding socio-economic status.

On the other hand, segregation within ethnic groups on the lowest level of socio-economic status is very pronounced even among the Europeans. Erik Cohen found that low-status people mostly restrict their social contacts to members of their own group of origin. Among the Europeans, these lower-status persons also demonstrate a marked " racial consciousness " and tend more than the others to view the community in terms of a rigid ethnic division.[11]

As the division into Europeans and Orientals gains in importance, and as these large ethnic groups emerge as recognized social units from the conglomeration of small groups of persons of similar origin, the veterans, preponderantly Europeans, or sons of Europeans, tend to fuse with the European immigrants and to provide them with leadership. The Orientals constitute a category apart, led mostly by immigrant leaders who arrived in the country somewhat earlier than the bulk of the immigrant group, or by dissident Oriental veterans, who resent European dominance. Some of the Oriental leaders use the opportunity provided by their leading positions to further personal social mobility: after achieving leadership, they " abandon " their fellows of common origin and try to " step-over " into the European camp. The lack of experience of the new Oriental immigrants in the ways of their new country, the inadequacy of their traditional leaders, and the desertion of their new leaders, are serious handicaps which retard their absorption in Israel. Moreover, those of their leaders

[10] For a fuller discussion of this problem consult Erik Cohen, " Development Towns—The Social Dynamics of ' Planted ' Urban Communities in Israel," in S. N. Eisenstadt, R. Bar-Yosef and Ch. Adler (Editors), *Integration and Development in Israel*, The Institute of Urban Studies, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1970.

[11] Erik Cohen, " Social Images in an Israel Development Town," *Human Relations*, Vol. 2, 1968, pp. 163-176.

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who continue to provide them with leadership, and who are sincerely aroused by the plight of their "compatriots," are sometimes exponents of extreme communalistic tendencies (such as the Black Panthers mentioned above), and as such are inadequate to further the immigrants' frictionless absorption in their new society.

Two questions arise: First, is the low socio-economic status—as measured by achieved variables—of some ethnic groups indeed the result of ethnic stratification in Israel? Second, are there any other ascribed stratification variables—besides ethnicity—that have some bearing on the socio-economic status?

Previous research work carried out in Israel indicated the following conclusions: [12]

1. There are considerable differences both in average income and in professional achievements of the various ethnic groups in Israel. These cannot be fully explained by the differences in education, age or veterancy in the country.[13]

2. The higher occupations are mainly reserved for Westerners, whereas the menial jobs are held mainly by Orientals.[14]

All these research studies made about ten years ago indicated that differences of status did indeed exist along ethnic lines. The question remains whether the assumption that Israel is undergoing a process of ethnic stratification is borne out by the past.

The present investigation is based mainly on data produced by the Central Bureau of Statistics, and also on the assumption that the principal criteria determining the status of a member of the Jewish community in Israel (apart from the questions of country of origin and length of residence in the country) are income, occupation, education and way of life. It also draws on conclusions reached by several authorities during the past few years.

In looking at these statistics one should keep in mind that, of the 2,810,400 Jews living in the State of Israel on 31 December 1973, 1,365,400 (48.6 per cent) were Israeli-born; 673,500 (23.9 per cent) were born in Asia and Africa; and 771,900 (27.5 per cent) in Europe and America.[15] Of the so-called Israelis, almost

[12] M. Hartmann and H. Eylon, "Descent and Status in Israel" (Hebrew), *Megamoth*, February 1975, Vol. 21, No. 2, p. 125.

[13] H. Levy, *Wage Differentials Among Israeli Wage Earners* (Hebrew). Bank of Israel, Jerusalem, 1968; S. Samocha and Y. Peres, "Ethnic Discrepancy in Israel," *Megamoth*, Vol. 1973; Dan Soen, "Les groups ethniques orientaux en Israel," *Revue Francaise de Sociologie*, Vol. XII, 1971, pp. 218-227.

[14] Moshe Lissak, *Social Mobility in Isreal Society*, Isreal University Press, Jerusalem, 1969.

[15] Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, No. 25, 1974, Jerusalem, p. 45.

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half were of Oriental descent. All in all, the Oriental element constituted about 47 per cent of the Jewish population.[16]

ORIENTAL IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR INCOME

The first question to be considered, then, is what is the income pattern in Israel. The answer to this question is simple enough. From the latest data available, as extracted from the Employee Families Income Survey for the year 1971,[17] it appears that the gross annual income per family of Afro-Asian origin was then I£10,700. The corresponding annual income per family of European/American origin stood at I£14,400 or, in other words, a difference of I£3700. To put it another way, the income per family of Western origin in that year exceeded that of a family of Oriental origin by about 34.5 per cent.

A similar check on the average gross annual money income per urban employee's family by continent of birth in 1972 reveals that, whereas the Afro-Asian income stood at I£12,800, the European/American income reached I£17,200—a difference of I£4400 or 34.3 per cent.[18]

The most crucial indicator is perhaps the fact that in 1971 the gap between the annual money income of an employee's family whose head was Israeli-born to an Afro-Asian father and a similar family whose head was Israeli-born to a Euro-American father, was even greater than those mentioned above. The annual income of the Israeli family of Western origin was I£16,300; the income of the Israeli family of Oriental descent was I£11,100, the gap being I£5200 or 46.8 per cent. The meaning of these last-quoted data is that, rather than disappearing with the first generation of immigrants, this gap tends to perpetuate itself.

The Government's Horowitz Commission of Inquiry nominated in 1971 to tackle the problem of economic disparity between the ethnic groups in Israel could not reach a consensus. Whereas the majority held the opinion that the gap was slightly diminishing, the minority maintained the opposite view—that the gap was growing.[19]

In view of the quoted data and taking into consideration the fact that the average size of the Oriental family in 1971 was 4.8 persons versus 3.1 persons in the Western family, there is no getting away from the conclusion that the gap shows no signs of shrinking. This fact is reflected in Table 1.

[16] Also see Haim J. Cohen, "Integration Problems of Afro-Asian Jews in Israel," *Ha'Universita*, Vol. 19, No. 1, March 1974, p. 23 (Hebrew).

[17] Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, 1972: *Employee Families Income*, 1971, p. 11.

[18] Statistical Abstract, *op. cit.*, No. 24, p. 271.

[19] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Problem of the Tendency of Growth of Income Gap and Social Gap*, Tel Aviv, 1971 (Hebrew).

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TABLE 1

Indices of total annual money income of employee's family, by family head's continent or origin

Year	Total	Born in Asia-Africa			Born in Europe-America			Born in Israel	Income of families born in Asia-Africa as a percentage of the income of those born in Europe-America
		Total	Immigrated up to 1947	Immigrated from 1955 onwards	Total	Immigrated up to 1947	Immigrated from 1955 onwards		
				Average family income					
1965	100	80	100	71	111	134	88	121	72
1966	100	78	98	65	114	144	85	122	78
1967	100	74	98	61	119	145	89	118	60
1968	100	80	98	69	114	134	95	119	70
1969	100	80	88	71	113	126	104	114	71
1970	100	83	94	76	112	124	94	116	74
1971	100	84	93	71	113	125	92	114	74
				Average income per capita					
1965	100	63	85	52	140	163	119	138	45
1966	100	62	83	48	143	175	114	140	43
1967	100	58	85	46	149	181	119	131	39
1968	100	65	89	55	138	162	123	128	47
1969	100	66	73	57	146	162	144	124	45
1970	100	68	91	57	144	166	130	125	47
1971	100	70	89	58	145	157	131	123	48

[1] Employee Families Income, *op cit.*, Vol. XVIII.

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This analysis will not be complete without drawing attention to the profile of the low-income groups in Israel. The groups in question comprise two categories — the lowest income group (living in poverty) and the second-lowest income group (living in near-poverty).[20] Both low-income groups show a relatively high percentage of family heads born in Asian-African countries and relatively low percentages of those born in Europe-America and Israel.

TABLE 2

Characteristics of low-income groups by ethnicity (per cent)[1]

Origins	*Poverty Group*	*Near-Poverty Group*	*Rest of Population*
Asia-Africa	59.8	60.1	31.6
Europe-America	33.3	33.1	54.2
Israel	6.9	6.8	14.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] F. Ginorg, "Analysis of Low-Income Groups in Israel," *Immigration and Israel's Survival,* The Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1975, p. 161.

There was also a preponderance of families who had immigrated from Asian-African countries in the lowest income categories. Sixty per cent of family heads in the lowest brackets (income per standard adult) were born in Asian-African countries compared with 32 per cent in the other income brackets.

Seen from another angle this means that 26 per cent of the Afro-Asian families in Israel are poor, as against 13 per cent of the Euro-American families. Among the old, 53.7 per cent of the Afro-Asian families are poor as against 36.8 per cent of the Euro-Americans. When one analyses the families whose heads are employed one finds that 17.7 per cent of the Afro-Asian units are poor as against 4.4 per cent of the Euro-Americans. Last but not least, 77.8 per cent of the poor children in Israel are of Afro-Asian origin.[21]

Regression analysis showed that income per standard adult was influenced by country of origin. In the main, the fact that the family head had immigrated from Europe or America before 1958 had a considerable positive influence on income per standard adult, compared with Jewish Israeli-born family heads. The fact that the family head was born in Asia or Africa had a negative

[20] Report of the Commission of Inquiry, *op. cit.*

[21] Jack Habib, *Poverty in Israel Before and After Receipt of Public Transfers*, The National Insurance Institute (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1974; Jack Habib, "Poverty in Israel 1964-1974 in the Light of the Development of the Income Maintenance System" (Hebrew), in *Social Security*, No. 8, March 1975, p. 17.

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influence compared with Jewish Israeli-born heads. An investigation into the determinants of family income had shown that there was a strong correlation between country of origin and education.[22]

The lower educational level of family heads who had immigrated from Asian and African countries was also the main cause of the relatively large percentage of these families in the lowest brackets by income per standard adult.

The educational level of family heads who had immigrated from Asia or Africa was considerably lower than that of the other family heads in the two lowest income brackets. It was also lower in the other income brackets. The higher percentage of families whose heads had immigrated from Asia or Africa in the two lowest income brackets is well accounted for by their lower educational level.

Income per standard adult was decisively influenced also by family size, in addition to the other determinants of family income. The size of families whose head had immigrated from Asian-African countries was, on the average, larger than that of the other families. This was an additional cause for the preponderance of these families in the lowest income brackets (by income per standard adult).

Large family size as an additional cause of low income per standard adult was found mainly among families whose heads had immigrated from Asian or African countries. Though in the lowest income range, these had a greater percentage of one- and two-person families than families with seven or more persons, the latter had much more weight among the number of persons. In the second-lowest income range, the percentage of large families was greater than that of small families. Among the families whose heads had immigrated from Europe or America, more than three-quarters in the low income brackets were one- and two-person families; there were very few large families. Among families with heads born in Israel, there was a considerable percentage of large families in the second-lowest income range.

The weight of large families among those of Asian-African origin in the higher income ranges, though considerably smaller than in the lowest income ranges, was much greater than that of families whose heads were born in Europe or Israel. Also, the families of European origin showed a preponderance of one-and-two person families in the higher income ranges.

The majority of families of European-American origin in the lowest income categories were among those not belonging to the

[22] F. Ginor, *Determinants of Family Income in Israel*, David Horowitz Institute, Tel Aviv University, 1974.

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labor force—mostly widows, widowers, or old couples—and their average family size was therefore small.

The majority among those of Asian-African origin were large families whose heads were employed. Families whose heads had immigrated from European-American countries were, on the average, older in all income categories, compared with the other segments of the population.

ORIENTAL IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

The next point to be considered is the occupation distribution of Afro-Asian immigrants. Inevitably, the situation is not less woeful in this respect. Thus, to take an example, it appears that in 1974 only 9.4 per cent of employed Afro-Asian immigrants were occupied in the professional, scientific, technical and similar occupations, compared to 23.0 per cent of immigrants from America-Europe and 25.9 per cent of Israeli-born workers. In administrative and clerical occupations, only 19.8 per cent of the total number of employed persons were of Afro-Asian origin, compared with 23.2 per cent of employed immigrants from Europe-America, and 30.1 per cent of Israeli-born employees.

On the other hand, as mentioned previously, Oriental immigrants showed a marked preponderance at the bottom of the occupational ladder, within the category of workers in sales and services. Compared to 12.5 per cent of Israeli-born employees who earned their living from these occupations, and to 19.6 per cent workers of Western origin, 26.2 per cent of all employees of Afro-Asian origin were in this category. Again, compared to 3.1 per cent of Israeli-born employees who were classified as unskilled labor, and to 4.3 per cent of Westerners who were thus classified, there were 8.7 per cent Afro-Asians employed in this group. Moreover, it is very illuminating to find that, whereas 36.6 per cent of those born in Israel to Western fathers held professional, scientific, technical and similar posts, only 10.1 per cent of the Israelis born to Oriental fathers held similar positions. Again—here the gap also appears to grow.[23]

Furthermore, a comparison between the occupational breakdown of the Jewish employees in 1961 and again in 1972 reveals a rather perturbing trend, namely, an increasing concentration of Oriental Jews in the lower status occupations of trades and services, versus a steadily growing concentration of the Western Jews in the higher status, professional and technical occupations.

[23] All figures compiled from the Statistical Abstract of Israel, *op. cit.*, No. 26, pp. 316-317.

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The ethnic polarization in occupations is becoming increasingly pronounced as can be seen from Table 3.

TABLE 3

Jewish-employed persons by occupation and continent of birth, 1961, 1972 (per cent)[1]

	Israelis 1972		*Afro-Asians*		*Euro-Americans*	
	Oriental father	Western father	1961	1972	1961	1972
1. Professional, scientific and technical occupations	8.6	34.3	5.8	8.3	14.9	20.9
2. Administrative and clerical occupations	20.8	25.0	10.2	13.4	22.9	22.4
3. Commerce	5.0	4.0	6.7	7.1	10.9	11.7
4. Agriculture and fisheries	5.3	9.9	18.4	7.8	8.4	5.2
5. Trades and services	60.3	26.8	58.8	63.3	42.8	39.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population and Housing Census*, 1961, Publication No. 42, Table 96, 1969; Statistical Abstract, No. 24, p. 334-35.

EDUCATION AND ORIENTAL IMMIGRANTS

Education is another sphere in which the inferiority of the Oriental immigrants is very marked. In 1974 it was found that 21.9 per cent of Oriental children aged 14 and upwards had not had even one year of formal schooling (compared to 2.7 per cent of European children and 0.9 per cent of Israeli-born children), while only 6.5 per cent had 13 years or more of schooling, compared to 21.9 per cent of European and 19.4 per cent of Israeli-born children. A similar disparity exists in secondary education —only 31.0 per cent of the Oriental immigrants have had nine to 12 years of education, compared with 41.6 per cent of Western immigrants and 61.2 per cent of Israeli-born persons. Moreover, while the modal class among the Westerners and Israelis is the section with secondary education, the modal class among Oriental immigrants has had only five to eight years of schooling.[24]

It should be observed here that *at least in this respect, there has been, as is claimed, a marked improvement in the condition of those of Oriental origin compared to their condition in 1961.* At the time of the census held in 1961, it emerged that 43.6 per cent of those of Oriental origin aged 14 and upwards had never been to school at all, compared with 25.6 per cent seven years later. In other words, by the end of the 13-year period since the census, the rate of illiteracy had dropped by about 20 per cent.

[24] *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1975, No. 26, p. 599.

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The rate of those with a secondary education (partial or complete) was about double at the end of the 13-year period than the rate at the beginning. As for those of Oriental origin who continued their education beyond secondary school, in 1961 they represented 1.5 per cent of the total, while by 1972 the percentage had risen (see above) to 6.5 per cent—a fourfold increase.

However, the abovementioned data are somewhat misleading. As stated by Cohen, [25] the gap between the Oriental segment and the Western segment of the population still exists, 27 years after the inception of the State of Israel. What is more, the gap is ever deepening among the second generation citizens, the Orientals born in Israel on the one hand, and the Westerners born in Israel on the other.

Thus, of all the Westerners with at least one year of formal schooling, 19.7 per cent went to school for 13 years or more, versus 6.4 per cent of all the Orientals. The proportion is 3.1: 1. However, of the Israeli-born Westerners with at least one year of formal schooling, 29.1 per cent went to school for 13 years or more, whereas of the Israeli-born Orientals belonging to the same category a mere 5.1 per cent studied for 13 years or more. The proportion, therefore, was 5.7: 1.[26]

Here it is worthwhile to reiterate that the figures released by the Ministry of Education and Culture reflect the fact that, no matter how you look at it, the situation does not appear to change markedly for the better. The percentage of Oriental students in the top grade of the secondary schools did show a leap from 18.1 in 1966-7 to 34.8 in 1972-3.

TABLE 4

Percentage of Oriental students in the secondary schools in Israel, 1966-67 *and* 1972-73[1]

	Percentage of Oriental Students	
Grade	1966-67	1972-73
1	41.1	57.0
2	32.8	47.6
3	24.2	41.4
4	18.1	34.8

[1] Ministry of Culture and Education, *The Education System Reflected by Numbers* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1974, p. 21.

This improvement is, in fact, cancelled out by another fact, namely, the growing gap between the Westerners and the Orientals qualifying for the General Certificate of Education: whereas in 1966-67 this gap stood at 20.6 per cent, in 1971-72 it jumped to 23.9 per cent as seen in Table 5.

[25] Erik Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
[26] *Ibid.*

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TABLE 5

Percentage of students, by ethnic origin, qualifying for General Certificate of Education, 1966-67 and 1971-72[1]

Academic year	*Afro-Asian descent*	*Euro-American descent*
1966-67	3.7	24.3
1971-72	6.1	30.0

[1] *The Education System Reflected by Numbers, op. cit.*

However, all these data have not yet illustrated the main inferiority of the Afro-Asian segment in the sphere of education. The gravity of the situation is best illustrated by figures relating to two other subjects: first, backward students in need of special attention; second, the student's achievements in the so-called " Survey Exams " at the end of the primary school years.

Thus, whereas the Asian-born students constituted 29.3 per cent of the students' body in 1972-73, their share in the backward students' body was 41.8 per cent. And while the African-born students constituted 27.2 per cent of the students' body, their share in the backward block was 52.9 per cent (*sic*!)[27]

Furthermore, whereas 76 per cent of the Israeli students born to a European father managed to get at least a 70 per cent mark at the Survey Exams in 1972-73, only 42 per cent of the students of Asian descent and 35 per cent of the students of African descent achieved the same mark.[28]

Ethnic polarization is, therefore, clearly evident in the sphere of education.

However, all that has been said so far does not exhaust the problem of ethnicity and education.

By making use of Goodman's Model,[29] Hartmann and Eylon found out that the differentiated achievements of the ethnic groups in Israel in 1961 along occupational lines could be accounted for almost fully by the differentiation along educational achievement lines.[30]

Yet, on checking the 1970 data with the help of the same model, it was found that while there was a growth in the relative importance of ethnicity, there was also a decline in the relative importance of education, inasmuch as the interactional effects of those two variables and occupation were concerned.

This means to say that, on the one hand, the educational gap between the two ethnic groups grows; on the other hand, the importance of ethnicity on occupational achievements gathers momentum.

[27] *The Education System Reflected by Numbers*, op. cit., p. 33.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] L. A. Goodman, " A General Model for the Analysis of Surveys," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 77, No. 6, May 1972, pp. 1035-1085.

[30] M. Hartmann and H. Eylon, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

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TABLE 6

The chances of being included in the higher professional categories by education and origins, 1961, 1970[1]

		Afro-Asian Years of schooling		*Euro-American Years of schooling*	
		0—8	9+	0—8	9+
1961 by standardized parameters	Before 1948	0.207	1.162	0.297	1.667
	1948 and later	0.100	0.559	0.143	0.803
1970	Before 1955	0.129	0.678	0.329	1.724
	1955 and later	0.088	0.461	0.224	1.172
1970	Before 1961	0.151	0.788	0.297	1.552
	1961 and later	0.090	0.471	0.177	0.927

[1] M. Hartmann and H. Eylon, "Descent and Status in Israel," Megamoth, February 1975, Vol. 21, No. 2, p. 133.

WAY OF LIFE, LIVING CONDITIONS AND THE ORIENTAL IMMIGRANT

As in the other spheres reviewed so far, also in the way of life and living conditions, a wide gap exists between immigrants of Oriental origin and those born in European and American countries.

It may be illuminating to begin by turning one's attention to the survey made by Professor Leviathan in 1964, from which he observed a substantial difference in the expenditure patterns of the two groups. *Those of Oriental origin make higher expenditure* clothing, while Europeans make higher expenditure on *culture and education.* He summed up his conclusions on this subject in the following words:[31] "From a sociological point of view, it may be argued that the high outlay on clothing by those of Asian origin is a reaction to their situation in respect of 'success' and social standing, compared to people of European origin. The tendency to react in this way, namely, by spending on goods which have but a superficial connection with status and wealth, is not a new phenomenon."

The consumption levels of goods other than food (Table 7) shows the marked differences that exist between the expenditure of those of Afro-Asian origin and those of European origin, after eliminating the effects of different incomes and family size.

These data, translated into the language of indices, bring out with even greater clarity the differences in the way of life between people of European and of Oriental origin. A detailed analysis by

[31] Nissan Leviathan, *Consumption Patterns in Israel*, Falk Centre for Economic Research in Israel, Jerusalem, 1964, p. 49.

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the same author, as reflected in another table, permits the same differences between the two groupings to be observed.[32]

TABLE 7

Consumption levels of goods other than food by continent of origin (I£ per month)

Item	*Continent of origin*		*Absolute difference between continents of origin*
	Afro-Asia	*Europe-America*	
Clothing	33.68	24.42	—9.26
Footwear	11.61	9.78	—1.83
Furniture	15.55	13.93	—1.62
Dwelling maintenance	21.81	25.45	3.64
Cigarettes and tobacco	6.88	5.11	—1.77
Education	3.66	8.67	5.01
Culture	2.29	4.43	2.14
Health	3.63	6.17	2.54
Organization dues	10.22	12.40	2.18
Entertainment	9.56	9.11	—0.45

Professor Leviathan tried to determine whether any tendency could be observed towards narrowing these differences in consumption of goods between the immigrants from different continents, concurrent with their increasing length of residence in the country. His investigations indicated that the " continent-of-birth influence " does not disappear; it shows as much effect on established residents as on newcomers. As though this were not enough, *differences in education and culture even grow with length of residence. It is true that the longer people of Oriental* origin have lived in the country, they reduce their expenditure on apparel and increase their outlays on education, culture and health; but the fact is that exactly the same tendency is exhibited by people of European origin, with the the result that the *gap in consumption habits grows even wider.*

To quote Leviathan's own words: " The fact that expenditure on education belongs to the last category can give rise to severe social results."[33]

Professor Leviathan's data have now become outdated, but the Central Bureau of Statistics published in 1969 and 1970 detailed data on a family expenditure survey for the year 1968-69 (the latest so far), in which some findings are reported which are also relevant to the present discussion.

Even though the components of income and family size have not been excluded from these results, they nevertheless reflect the differences in per capita monthly expenditure between the two ethnic sectors of the population.

[32] Nissan Leviathan, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[33] *Ibid*

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It appears from a comparison of expenditure indices for the years 1968-69 and 1963-64 that, while there have been increases in the expenditure of both groups, *the gap between them has widened still further, despite the overall rise.* In other words, immigrants from Europe made progress at a faster rate than did those from Asia and Africa. Thus, for example, if the index for the expenditure of immigrants of European origin who arrived in Israel up to 1954 stood in 1963-64 at 123, while the expenditure index for the corresponding group of Oriental origin stood at 73 (a difference of 50 points), in 1968-69 the index for those of European origin was 134, and those of Oriental origin, 78—a difference of 56 points[34] (see Table 8).

TABLE 8

Monthly consumption expenditure in I£ (except dwelling) per capita by continent of origin and time of immigration of family head (1963-64 and 1968-69)

	Consumption expenditure per capita per month		*Expenditure index*	
	1963-64	1968-69	1963-64	1968-69
Total	147	122	100	100
Europe-America up to 1954	181	297	123	134
Europe-America came after 1954	151	256	103	115
Asia-Africa up to 1954	108	173	73	78
Asia-Africa came after 1954	83	119	56	54

In other words, in both consumption patterns and indices for expenditure on consumption, great discrepancies exist between the two sectors of the population, and these are very much to the disadvantage of the ethnic group of Oriental origin.

Following up Professor Leviathan's investigation, it is interesting to compare possession of durable goods among the two ethnic groups: —

In this connection, it becomes apparent that in some respects the Oriental group still lags behind the European. Yet, in recent years, a great improvement has been marked. Thus, the discrepancy in 1974 between the two ethnic groups in the matter of ownership of a gas range for cooking and baking is in favor of the Oriental group (66.2 per cent versus 60.1 per cent).[35] On the other hand, the gap takes on a special meaning when it is related to the ownership of private cars (15.2 per cent Oriental-owned compared to 31.2 per cent European-owned in the same

[34] Central Bureau of Statistics, *Family Expenditure Survey 1968-69, Preliminary Results, Jerusalem*, 1969, p. XIII.

[35] *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1975, No. 26, p. 277.

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year), telephone (31.3 per cent versus 63.6 per cent) or a vacuum cleaner (12.1 per cent versus 40.2 per cent, respectively).

The great progress made among the Oriental group in the ownership of such commodities since 1958 must be noted. The C.B.S. table which records a time series of such ownership illustrates this point very well. For example, while in 1958 an electric refrigerator was included among the possessions of 8.2 per cent of all Oriental families, in 1974 it was owned by 97.3 per cent of these families. Then, whereas in 1958 only 14.0 per cent of the total number of Oriental families owned a cooking and baking gas stove, by 1974 they were already to be found in the households of 66.2 per cent of Oriental families. While washing machines were owned by only 3.1 per cent in 1958, by 1974 69.2 per cent of all Oriental origin families had them.

Careful consideration of the table mentioned above will underline the fact that, while the Oriental ethnic group still lags behind the European to a substantial degree, its rate of progress is relatively higher.

Yet, there is more to it than that. As early as about ten years ago, an analysis of consumption patterns of durable goods was carried out by the Bank of Israel. At that time it was found that there was, so to speak, a certain fixed order of durable goods consumption: radio-receiver (TV was still unavailable in Israel), gas stove, refrigerator, washing machine, electric mixer. The added income needed in order to add a " higher " electric utensil to a " lower " one was not constant. Gas stove and refrigerator were separated by a monthly income of I£50.00. Refrigerator and washing machine were separated by a monthly added income of only I£25.00. However, a washing machine and electric mixer were separated by I£175.00. Since these differences could not be explained by the actual prices of the goods, the Bank's Survey reached the conclusion that the possession of certain goods reflected the way of life and was indicative of social status.[36]

So far as the respective ways of life are concerned, it may be appropriate to add a few words here on the subject of domestic help, which has become an inseparable part of the " social environment " of the middle class in Israel.

The time series of data on this point for the period 1967 to 1973 show that, while the European households employing domestic help increased from 15.6 per cent to 17.8 per cent, the Oriental households employing it increased in percentage from 1.6 to 3.4.[37] Had a census been taken of the housemaids according to their ethnic origin, the opposite picture would, of course,

[36] *Bank of Israel Survey*, No. 20 (Hebrew), Jerusalem.

[37] *Statistical Abstract*, No. 25, 1974, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

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have emerged—a decisive majority of housemaids are of Oriental origin!

This analysis may now be concluded with a comparison between the housing conditions found among the two ethnic groups, a comparison which will again reveal a marked gap to the disadvantage of the Oriental group.

Thus, for example, whereas only 7.9 per cent of the Oriental families lived at a density of less than one person per room in 1974, the corresponding figure for the Western group was 23.9 per cent.[38]

The fact that ethnicity plays a rôle in this respect comes to the fore when one keeps the factor of education as a constant. The Oriental group is always at a disadvantage compared to the Western group.

TABLE 9

Housing density (number of persons per room, by continent of birth, period of immigration and years of study of household head)[1]

Number of years of study	*Born in Asia-Africa*					*Born in Europe-America*				
	Total	*Total*	*Up to 1947*	*1948-1954*	*Since 1955*	*Total*	*Up to 1947*	*1948-1954*	*Since 1955*	*Israel born*
All families	1.51	1.82	1.51	1.89	1.79	1.08	1.01	1.19	1.17	1.32
Did not study	1.94	1.73	1.27	1.91	1.64	1.01	1.00	1.07	—	3.04
Studied:										
1-4 yrs	2.00	2.10	1.73	2.18	2.05	1.15	1.16	1.19	1.11	3.07
5-8 yrs	1.65	1.98	1.59	2.02	2.03	1.13	1.03	1.23	1.10	2.08
9-12 yrs	1.30	1.60	1.48	1.62	1.61	1.09	1.01	1.23	1.03	1.39
13 yrs and more	1.13	1.48	1.37	1.57	1.34	0.99	0.97	1.05	0.97	1.21

[1] Central Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Housing Conditions 1971*, Jerusalem, 1973, p. XXX.

Furthermore, on taking installations inside the home, the Afro-Asian families are again seen to be at a disadvantage. Thus, only 31.1 per cent of these families had a bathtub in 1971, compared to around 68 per cent of the Westerners; only 67.8 per cent had apartment heating, compared to 93.4 per cent of the Euro-Americans.[39]

To round up the picture, the proportions of apartment owners among the "Orientals" and the "Westerners" show again the unfavourable proportion of 53 per cent, as against 71 per cent.[40]

To conclude this review, it is possible to say that in the way of life and housing conditions a great difference exists between the two ethnic groups. This difference persists despite the very considerable dynamism found in this field which, in certain

[38] *Statistical Abstract*, No. 26, 1975, p. 273.

[39] *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1973, p. 284.

[40] *Survey of Housing Conditions*, 1971, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

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aspects, manifests itself in faster progress among the " Orientals " than among the " Westerners."

SUMMARY

In summing up all the aforesaid, it may be stated that examination of the Oriental ethnic group's place in the social stratification of Israel according to objective estimates, reveals that as a *group* its status is inferior to that of the Western ethnic group. If, to the various criteria considered in this study one adds the component of *origin*, then the status of any member of the Oriental ethnic group is lowered even further, since his Oriental origin is in itself regarded as a " black mark " against him. All in all there is a strong indication of a clear-cut process of ethnic stratification.

One should bear in mind that a considerable correlation exists here between objective criteria and subjective definitions since the " Orientals " are likely to place themselves within the social stratum that best reflects objective reality.

This fact has an overwhelming influence on everything concerned with the problems of confrontation between the ethnic groups in Israel; while evaluating the situation, disregard or omission of members of one group by members of the other, each side tends to overlook the workings of cause and effect and the true priorities which operate differently than may appear to those making the judgements. As a result, this situation promotes the emergence of negative stereotyped labels which, in the end, also have a negative effect on those upon whose foreheads such labels are stuck.

Prior to their arrival in Israel, persons in each of the ethnic groups were usually total strangers to one another, often coming from areas geographically far apart. No preconceived stereotypes, no " primordial images," exist initially between geographically and culturally distant groups, such as, for example, the Moroccans and the Hungarians. Only where groups come from neighboring countries, such as on the one hand Poland, Hungary and Rumania, or on the other hand Morocco, Tunis and Algeria, do such stereotypes exist prior to settlement in the towns.[41]

As a result of the confrontation of the ethnic categories whose members were previously total strangers to one another, a set of new stereotypes emerges. The older set of stereotypes, entertained by persons from neighboring countries of origin against one another, recede to second place.

Some broad differences between the two major categories of ethnic groups become quickly manifest. The higher initial degree

[41] For a detailed analysis consult E. Cohen, *op. cit.*

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of Westernization of the Europeans assists them to make a quicker adjustment to the new situation. They attain better paid jobs and are socially closer to the veterans than the Orientals. This enables them to attain from the start a higher social position than the Orientals. These differences provide the basis on which new ethnic stereotypes begin to develop.

The Europeans stick together, considering themselves "white" and often calling the Orientals "black." Their stereotype of the Oriental is unambiguous and negative. The Oriental in this view is "primitive," "uncouth," "violent," and so on. Often, all the Orientals or North African ethnic groups are lumped together under the term "Moroccans." Such stereotypes are especially strongly held among the lower strata of the European immigrants, who are actually in daily contact with the Orientals at work and as neighbors.

The Oriental stereotype of the European, on the other hand, is highly ambivalent. It expresses the high esteem of the Orientals for the modern and especially the technical skills of the European, which enables him to succeed more rapidly in the new society than they themselves can, and to improve more quickly his social and economic status. The European is often considered learned and cultural and thus worthy of emulation. However, the Orientals also express envy and resentment towards the Europeans who are under suspicion of enjoying unwarranted privileges and favoritism (*Proteksia*), because of their ability "to find their way about people." The Orientals are hurt by the contempt and derision with which they are often met by the Europeans, and they deeply resent being socially rejected by them.

As they emulate the Europeans, the Orientals and particularly the Moroccans develop negative self-images, even self-hatred, which has a detrimental effect on the internal cohesion of the various ethnic groups within the Oriental sector. They thus find themselves in an unenviable position: they identify with the cultural goals of the Europeans, and seek their company, but are not accepted by them. At the same time their own social groups disintegrate. They therefore run the danger of isolation: rejecting the company of their own groups of origin, they are rejected by the group whose company they seek.[42]

The ethnic stratification process thus has a far-reaching bearing on the whole social climate of Israel. On the basis of all the data analyzed above one may expect the tension along ethnic lines to continue growing in the near future. In fact, socially speaking, it is a time-bomb.

[42] See also Judith T. Shuval, *Ethnic Stress in Israel*, in Dan Soen (Editor), *Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Problems in Israel*, Vol. 1, pp. 41-60; Judith T. Shuval, "Status Correlations and Ethnic Correlations in Casual Neighbouring," in Dan Soen (Editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 61-72.

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Ales Hrdlicka on Race Deterioration and Race Destruction

By DONALD A. SWAN

Ales Hrdlicka was born on 29 March 1869 in Humpolec, Bohemia (now Czechoslovakia). His family migrated to the United States while he was a youth. Hrdlicka first studied medicine and later turned to anthropology. He left the U.S.A. for a year in 1896 to study anthropology with L. P. Manouvrier in Paris. From 1896 to 1899, Dr Hrdlicka served as associate in anthropology in the New York Pathological Institute. In 1899, he took charge of physical anthropology for expeditions sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.[1]

From 1903 to 1910, Hrdlicka served as assistant curator, and from 1910 to 1943, as curator, of the physical anthropological collections at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. In 1918, he founded the American Association of Physical Anthropologists and its publication, *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. Dr Hrdlicka served as editor of the journal until his death on 5 September 1943.[2] He certainly deserves the title of "Father of American Physical Anthropology."

Dr Hrdlicka maintained a wide variety of interests within the field of anthropology and traveled extensively on numerous anthropological expeditions. The problems of human origins and the origins of the races of man in particular interested him. Hrdlicka reviewed the known archaeological and fossil material relating to the origins and taxonomic status of Neanderthal man in a paper entitled "The Neanderthal Phase of Man,"[3] which was delivered as The Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1927, and later expanded into a 380-page monograph entitled *The Skeletal Remains of Early Man* (1930).[4] He concluded that the Neanderthals represented a phase in the evolution of man rather than a separate species which "perished abruptly and completely, without leaving any progeny" and that the known evidence favored the assumption of "the evolution of the Neanderthaler into later man."[5]

[1] Charles C. Gillespie (Editor), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, Vol. VI., pp. 527-528.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Ales Hrdlicka, "The Neanderthal Phase of Man," 1927, in T. D. McCown and K. A. R. Kennedy (Editors), *Climbing Man's Family Tree*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972, pp. 257-285.

[4] Ales Hrdlicka, *The Skeletal Remains of Early Man*, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1930.

[5] Ales Hrdlicka, "The Neanderthal Phase of Man," *op. cit.*, pp. 281-285.

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Hrdlicka was greatly interested in the problem of the origin of the American Indian. He organized expeditions to Alaska and conducted anthropological research on the living Eskimo and Indian populations of this region.[6] On the basis of detailed study of the available fossil material, Dr Hrdlicka concluded that the New World was uninhabited until migrants from northeast Asia crossed the Bering Strait in post-glacial times. This early population — ancestral to the living American Indians — was then believed to have spread out from the Alaska-Aleutian Island area along the Pacific Coast, gradually diffusing over all of North, Central and South America. Hrdlicka believed—on the basis of physical anthropological, linguistic, and ethnological evidence—in the racial unity of the American Indians.[7]

Dr Hrdlicka also conducted the first important scientific study of the physical anthropology of the descendants of the early settlers of America—who were primarily of English, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish origin. From 1915 to 1923, Professor Hrdlicka was able to obtain a full set of anthropometric measurements of the head and body, pigmentation observations, and physiological measurements on some 900 adults. All subjects were native-born Americans, ranging in age from 24 to 60, who had a minimum of three generations of native American ancestry on both sides of the family. Hrdlicka's series included "clerks, businessmen, professional men, members of Congress, and men of leisure, artisans and farmers."[8]

Dr Hrdlicka's observations and results were published in 1925 in a 438-page work entitled *Old Americans*. Comparing his data to other anthropological studies of Anglo-Saxon populations, Hrdlicka concluded that: "The Old American stock, as it may now be called, stands in general nearer than any other branch of whites to the stock of Great Britain. But, it is not, or no more, identical with the same; it is American. There is some justification therefore, in speaking of the "American type" of white people. This is near the English, Irish, and Scotch types, but is at least as different from any of these as these are different from each other."[9]

Professor Hrdlicka's views on the biological effects of race mixture or race crossing were presented in a paper entitled "Race Deterioration and Destruction with Special Reference to the American People." The paper was delivered at the Third

[6] Charles C. Gillespie, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-528.

[7] Ales Hrdlicka, "The Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1923, pp. 481-494.

[8] Ales Hrdlicka, *Old Americans*, Williams and Wilkins Company, 1925, pp. 1-16.

[9] Ales Hrdlicka, *op cit.*, pp. 402-408.

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Race Betterment Conference which was held in Battle Creek, Michigan (U.S.A.) from January 2 to 6, 1928. The conference proceedings were published later the same year.[10]

Hrdlicka began his paper by defining race deterioration and race destruction. *Deterioration* of a race meant "the degradation of its standards of mentality and effectiveness, generally attended also by the lowering of those of physique." *Destruction* of a race meant "the loss of its identity through complete submergence into another race; or, extinction through death."[11]

Hrdlicka contended that human groups may deteriorate either through internal causes or through external agencies. The *internal* factors "are all those that lastingly enfeeble or derange the sound heredity of the group." For both animals and man the internal causes comprise ". . . prolonged in-breeding, breeding with inferior stock, the weeding out of the best, the preservation and breeding of the less fit, affection of progeny through prevalent infections, and idleness." The *external* unfavorable factors in man comprise "disease, war, untoward lasting changes in climate, overwork, poisons." For Hrdlicka, "Destruction of a stock is mostly but the ultimate stage of deterioration and has the same reasons."[12]

Professor Hrdlicka then went on to consider the problem of "The Rise and Decline of National Groups." He noted that since the dawn of human history, "many a human group has flared up to an acme of power and culture, remained at the top for shorter or longer periods, and then invariably gone down, while new groups were forging into prominence. Since there has never been an exception to this historical pattern, Hrdlicka believed that "the phenomenon is a general rule and may obey, in addition to the above named causes, some deep-seated law."[13]

Hrdlicka maintained that the prime units of history are national groups, rather than races. Thus, "the units affected—the Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Phonecians, Greeks, Romans, Jews, Moors, Huns, Mongols, Aztecs, Incas, and so on were neither whole racial groups nor always pure — they were rather political and linguistic, or *nationalistic,* groups, and while they were surging or receding, other parts of the same race were unaffected."[14] Previously, the

[10] Ales Hrdlicka, "Race Deterioration and Destruction with Special References to the American People," *Proceedings of the Third Race Betterment Conference*, Race Betterment Foundation, Battle Creek, Michigan, 1928, pp. 82-85.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*

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great French thinker, Count Arthur de Gobineau, had advanced the view that the fundamental factor of the progress or decay of a society is the *racial factor* and that "inequality of races is sufficient to explain the entire enchainment of the destinies of peoples."[15] For Hrdlicka, however, the motive powers of the rise and fall of nations are "not inherently or solely racial," but essentially "geographical, economical, cultural and personal."[16]

In Hrdlicka's view, the rise and decline of the various national groups followed a similar historical pattern: —[17]

> In each case the beginning of the rise shows a fresh, virile, morally strong, and already numerous group, led by ambition and an able leader, and enthused by some great ideas, of consequent, power, riches, religion. The sequence of events is then, successful wars, continued extension of domain, increase in opulence of the leading classes, development of military and religious hierarchies, forcible attachment of unwilling people and continued loss of the most virile and able in wars and colonial administration. Then sets in luxury, idleness, weakening of discipline and morale; there are neglect and ignorance of the masses, slavery and admixture with lower or weaker groups; to be followed by dynastic troubles, revolutions, epidemics of disease, growing enfeeblement of the whole structure, increasing failures in war, and eventually invasions by "barbarians," conquest, destruction of culture, pillages, followed by demoralization and poverty, with finally more or less continued weakness and dormant condition.

The noted German historian, Oswald Spengler, in his classic work *The Decline of the West* (1926) contended that "cultures are organisms" and that "every culture passes through the age phases of the individual man. Each has its childhood, youth, manhood and old age."[18] Hrdlicka too inclined to the assumption that "there is in nations and races also something akin to a natural life-cycle similar to that of an individual, with its youth, a full-blown stage and then a more or less rapid decline and enfeebled old age."[19]

[15] Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, G. P. Putnam, New York, 1915, p. 14.

[16] Ales Hrdlicka, "Race Deterioration and Destruction . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[18] Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1926.

[19] Ales Hrdlicka, "Race Deterioration and Destruction . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 83.

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However, Dr Hrdlicka also outlined a series of specific factors responsible for the decline of national groups: —[20]

> When these factors are weighed, it is found that those of the foremost apparent importance are lack of able leaders, especially on critical occasions; and exhaustion of ambition through the attainment of the original material aims; and a general enfeeblement of morals and forces through growing luxury and indolence, with a simultaneous weakening of the structure of the state through unassimilated conquering peoples. To this may be added in some cases a dilution of the physical as well as mental status by admixture with poorer blood, brought in through slaves and mercenaries. Combine with this the fact that the power as well as the culture of everyone of these older torch-bearing groups was limited to the few while the masses were kept in ignorance and oppressive subjection, and there are the visible conditions of the past human failures.

In contrast to the cyclical rise and fall of national groups, Hrdlicka contended that "a complete destruction of a racial group . . . appears . . . to be next to impossible." Most of the old groups are gone as such. "But their blood remains, in spots even pure, though mostly mixed and obscured by newer aggregations." Hrdlicka observed that there remains to this day "remnants of pure old Egyptians, Greeks, Assyrians, Mongols, Mayas, and all the other once dominant 'races;' but the great majority are now a mixture of the old with whatever came later." These groups "are inextricably submerged, but not truly annihilated." Only small isolated groups such as "the Tasmanians, the Hottentots, and the South African Bushmen have gone or are going out entirely." In the case of these groups, Hrdlicka concluded that "they were too small in numbers, possessed too little immunity against introduced disease, and were too undesirable for mixture —to survive."[21]

Professor Hrdlicka, like Edward M. East,[22] did not find the mixture of peoples of itself, to be "necessarily a bad factor." He differentiated between advantageous racial mixtures (between peoples of the same race stock) and disadvantageous racial mixtures (between peoples of different race stocks). Thus, Hrdlicka believed that "a mixture of healthy individuals belonging to the same general human stock, such as the white, is not

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

[22] Edward M. East, *Heredity and Human Affairs*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1927, pp. 183-200.

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. . . detrimental, and may possibly be stimulative and therefore of advantage."[23]

However, mixture between more distant races—such as the white and the black—could only be disadvantageous. In the view of Dr Hrdlicka, the differences between the races were of such a magnitude that mixture between these two races would weaken the more able and advanced white race: —[24]

> But a mixture with a definitely poorer stock, physically or mentally, could not possibly be beneficial, or harmless. If there is added ninety to one hundred, the mean result will surely be less than one hundred; and the defect may be further enhanced by a poor treatment of the result, a poor bringing up of the child. This touches intimately on the problem of the mixture of the American white with the American negro. There are still some benevolent minds who would like to see all men, white and black, potentially equal. Yet they will hold that there are differences between one family and another family, and even between the children of the same family, in the same racial group. If they did not, there would obviously be no use for eugenics, . . . no use even for much of genetics and biology. As a matter of fact there are similarities but no absolute equality anywhere in living nature, either in races, or families or even individuals. The problem is merely how great in a given case is the dissimilarity. Races, especially the further distant ones like the white and the negro, if the accumulated observations of anthropology count for anything, are not equipotential, or equally effective, or able, or resistant, and the results of their union will [not] be the strengthening of the weaker, as seen in many of our mulattoes, but the weakening of the stronger constituent.

Dr Hrdlicka concluded his paper on race deterioration and destruction with some observations from the viewpoint of anthropology on two important national questions of the time—immigration restriction and race relations. With respect to immigration, some writers in the 1920's contended that the influx of migrants from southern and eastern Europe threatened to bring about a deterioration of the Old American stock. Hrdlicka, however, maintained that "there is no proof that the normal white immigrant, of any source, has lowered the physical or mental standards of the American people, or would threaten their deterioration." He noted that there were differences between the various white national groups, but that "the mean group values within the white race are evidently not yet far apart."

[23] Ales Hrdlicka, "Race Deterioration and Destruction . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

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Consequently, mixture between the new white immigrants and the old white Americans " may be in general of biological advantage rather than a danger."[25]

On the other hand, Professor Hrdlicka regarded mixture between the white and black races as a danger to the American people: —[26]

> This is touching the one great sore spot in American anthropology. A probable, if not inevitable, assimilation of the colored population into the white is the one real cause of anxiety as to those who contemplate the future of the American people. As long as the colored tenth is held apart, there is no danger. The limited influx of white into the colored blood is a gain to the latter. The danger lies in the colored stream flowing eventually wholly into the body of the larger white group. If this should happen, some change in the white body would be inevitable, and it would be a bold scientist who could argue that such an event might be beneficial.

In fact, Hrdlicka considered the prospect of assimilation of the black race by the white race to be " the one cloud on the otherwise clear and blue sky of the American people of the future."[27]

Nearly half a century has passed since the presentation of Professor Hrdlicka's paper on race deterioration and race destruction. During that time considerably more scientific evidence has been accumulated of the existence of large and significant differences between the primary races of man in cerebral morphology and on a variety of measures of behavior and intelligence. Specialized research designed to investigate the causes of these observed racial differences has demonstrated that genetic factors underlie these behavioral differences to almost the same degree as racial differences in anatomical, physiological, and biochemical traits. On the basis of these studies, it is evident that the white and yellow races are biologically more advanced and have attained a higher level on the evolutionary scale than the more primitive negrid and austrolid races. Consequently, mixture between the more advanced northern races and the more primitive tropical races can only be of disadvantage to the former and result in their racial deterioration. For the United States of America, Hrdlicka's warning of nearly 50 years ago is still valid today—" assimilation of the colored population into the white is the one real cause of anxiety to those who contemplate the future of the American people."

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

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A Requiem for Democracy

By G. M. MES

In the days of my youth—the first two decades of this century —the subject that occupied us young ones most was the (terrible) fact that God had died and that one had to face up to the question how one could live without Him. The argument is still essentially the same but now it concerns another dated belief. Democracy is what is dead and the question has become if one can live (an acceptable life) without it.

What has changed is not the world—or the universe—but we ourselves. We no longer have the awe that made religion a necessary and integral part of the structure of the lives of our forefathers and we no longer really have what it takes to live democratically.

The structure of any society and even of any part of a society is not something that is there by itself. It is the expression of the nature of the members concerned in it because—in the final count—it is no more than the sum-total of numberless individual and personal decisions and acts, each one marked indelibly by the qualities of honesty, loyalty and conscientiousness (or their lack) of those who do them, together with the basic attitude each man has toward life and his fellow citizens. In democracy things are not done under pressure or fear of punishment but, simply, because (as the English language expresses it so beautifully) it is, *for democrats,* that what "is done" and that what "is not done."

The essence of democracy lies not in the presence of a functioning "representative parliament" and, still less, in a "democratic constitution."

This has been demonstrated with terrible clarity during the "liberation" of Africa. Each newly fledged black "nation" started off with a "democratic constitution" (mostly tailor-made in Whitehall), many already had a functioning, installed democratic machinery, but, within months or a few years, nearly all of them reverted to (or attained!) the, for them *natural,* structure of what, despite the verbiage and trappings, are more or less total autocracies in which the white man boss has been replaced by the black man boss.

Democracy, as such, has also nothing to do with "freedom of the state." Russia, Saudi Arabia and Spain (as Nazi Germany was in its time) are as free as any country could ever be. "Freedom of the state" is, at the most, a necessary prerequisite for the *possibility* of the development of a democracy. One can give a country or a nation its freedom—or, as we colonialists did,

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go home and stop ruling it—but one cannot give a "people" freedom. They can only give that to themselves.

The principle of democracy—a ruling of the people by the people—also has little if anything to do with "one man, one vote" or, even, with "equality." These too are merely details of a machinery which *tries* to implement the democratic principle and the validity they have in any given case depends mostly on the mentality of the theoreticians who have defined (or would like to define) the constitution. It is *their* realism, idealism, naïveté, optimism or pessimism which decides what is considered to be the "demos" that is—or should be—"ruling itself."

The mechanisms and structures of democracy are almost as varied and numerous (and as unimportant) as the national costumes of the different democracies but what they all have to have in common is the democrats who are their citizens *and the democrats who rule them.*

In the absence of a *sufficiency* of either one or both of these two, their democracy (as such) will become obsolete and—like an "unimplementable law"—disappear simply because, in the individual events and relationships that go to the *functioning* of the state, the judgment and motivation of the persons responsible for them will not self-evidently be those of a democrat. The things that are done and, especially, those that are left undone, will not be democratically determined while the functioning of the controllers and the controllers of the controllers will be tainted with the same defects.

In the absence of enforcement by fear and intimidation, a system of government (like a law) can and will only be implemented when a significant majority of those subject to it, as well as of those who have to implement it, are basically convinced that *that is how things should be done*—and that that is how things should be. (In the system enforced by fear the criterion is not "how things should be" but "how those in power insist that it must be").

The fundamental, genitive factor in a democracy is, therefore, the (mainly inborn) nature and characteristics of what we can call the "democratic citizen" and his counterpart the "democratic ruler."

In both cases it is not important what or whom the democrat considers to be a co-member of his "demos." What is important lies in the second syllable of the word "demo-cracy"—that is: in the self-evident accepting of the fact *that there must be a "ruling" and, therefore, a "commanding" and an "obeying."* In this there need be no "law" or even an "adhering to precedent," although in practice, it would be very difficult to do

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without these shortcuts to "standard" conclusions and procedures.

Our modern, almost idolatry, insistence on the "rule of law," which in certain sets of relationships becomes almost what one would call a "nomocracy," is, in itself, a symptom of the death of democracy among us. In such a nomocracy the people would not be ruled *by themselves* but by what is actually a codification of what was thought to be "just" and "necessary," *in other circumstances,* by those long dead. This attempt to establish an absolute "rule of law" is actually no more than a desperate effort to keep the *mechanisms* of democracy (from which life has departed) going.

In regard to the "ruling" of his community, the "democratic citizen" knows, consciously or unconsciously, that his rôle must be the passive one of "one who is ruled" because, for one or more of a variety of reasons, he *prefers* to leave the ruling to others.

He may have his own affairs to attend to and/or lacks the ambition, or drive to want to tell others what to do. He may also realise that he does not have the ability, the nature or the personality to do so. He is more interested in his personal relationships with his private niche in the community and is unwilling to devote his time and energy to the running of the whole but—by nature again — he is *willing to delegate* that part of his "duties" to others.

The second fundamental characteristic of the "democratic citizen" is that he realises that he *himself* is not "the demos" but that his voice and his interests are one among many while the "will of the demos" is expressed by the "majority"—a fact, simplistically expressed by the magic formula of "one man, one vote." The latter is a quantitative counting of heads instead of a qualitative summation of what is in the minds—*each evaluated and loaded* according to the measure of knowledge, understanding, judgment and social responsibility that has gone into the formation of the conclusion at which that mind has arrived.

(It is one of the major and inescapable weaknesses of the "democracies" as we know them, that it is practically impossibile to make this evaluation and it is, at best, only approachable by various attempts at formulating an appropriate "qualified franchise" based on in how far the person has *demonstrated* these qualities by the degree to which he has been able to make a success of his life in the community.)

Nevertheless, in whatever way it has been arrived at, once the "will of the demos" has been expressed and defined, it is again a characteristic of the true, born democrat, that he, then, is not only willing to accept that decision but able to see it as

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how it should be—and to give it his undivided loyalty while playing his part in implementing it to the best of his abilty—all because of the simple fact that he identifies himself with his "demos." Thereby, what has been decided upon also becomes *his* will.

In his heart he may not agree—or fear the consequences—but he realises that going counter to the will of the demos would do more harm than honestly to try and make it work. He will only baulk when he is convinced that there is a real danger *for the whole of the community.*

The "democratic ruler" on the other hand, is a man who, again for one or more of a variety of reasons is willing to sacrifice his personal interests, private life and, often his peace of mind, for the sake of the group to which he belongs and to take over the duties and responsibilities inherent in the activity of ruling.

As our analysis is concerned with what are, after all, ordinary, fallible, human people, our definition may seem to be a hopelessly exaggerated idealisation—but that is not altogether true.

It is doubtlessly true that a large percentage of our "democratic citizens" have not thought about their democracy at all. They take the society into which they have been born and in which they have grown up for granted, reaping what benefits seem to be available and voting (if they vote at all) out of a sense of duty. There is no real consciousness of delegating power. The democratic ruler is, again, more often than not, consciously motivated by the wish to be a "someone," a respected person of acknowledged importance—something he could not hope to achieve in his own niche in the community. Besides this there are, even for the honest ruler, a large number of material perquisites and opportunities and social advancement, and it would be foolish to deny that many people obtain positive pleasure out of being able to command and to force others to obey.

When there is a crisis and something threatens the democracy as a whole, there is, however, a closing of the ranks because both the citizens and the rulers become conscious of the meaning of what, to the superficial observer, may have seemed to be no more than lip-service to "ideals."

It is then that the consciousness of being a member of a herd makes itself felt—of the herd which, even among animals, was already an original, basic phenomenon of living together. A democracy is actually "a herd" and the only form in which that phenomenon has occurred among men who (being thinking and judging individuals) do not naturally and easily combine into a system of relationships the rules of which they "automatically" obey.

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One can compare this with the pattern of the "hunting pack" which is the prototype of most of the other human societies we know.

Where, in a herd, leadership and authority is largely decided by *acknowledged* ability and the "gift" of leadership—in the pack the criterion is the ability to fight—or, at least, to instil fear. Therefore, the structure of an autocracy is a power-pyramid in which each individual has to find his place according to his temerity. In it, he may give loyalty and even adoration to the leader, if not of his own free will, then at least *as the only way to retain his self-respect.*

The democrat is proud of being a member of his democracy. In the other systems the individual is (or can be) proud of *belonging* to a great and mighty overlord — shining in his reflected glory.

The democrat identifies himself with his herd, the others identify themselves with the glory and fame of their master. And, probably the most important difference is that the democrat feels himself to be the *source* of (part of) the power of his democracy. The others receive what powers they have "from above" as all the power there is is the power of the ruler. They look upward in fear (and admiration) hoping for grace and benefits and treat those in their (delegated) power with an iron fist—as, miniature replicas of their master.

Imperfect as the realisation of the ideal of democracy certainly has always been, it was still the best, most "human" form of government.

One has to fear, however, that we will not have it with us much longer, even in its present adulterated form for, as said, it needs a sufficiency of "democratic citizens" and "democratic rulers" to remain alive and the democratic quality is fast fading out of our democrats before the onslaught of the modern ideal of the "free man" who, in theory at least, is the "Master of his fate and the captain of his soul."

If our understanding of ourselves is that we are all equal and equally capable of acting like intelligent human beings, capable of forming reasoned opinions on all matters of state and yet free to do what we personally think best for ourselves—or simply what we want to do, as expressed in the phrase "doing one's thing," it is inevitable that all the accent will come to fall on the "rights" — the so-called "human rights" of the individual while the function of the state becomes restricted to seeing to it that that right is not interfered with (by others "doing their thing"). For the rest it will be confined to providing all that we have a "right" to, while protecting us from the results of our own folly—such as by providing pensions, doles, hospitals, amenities, bread and circuses.

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The childish self-centred inanity of this "ideal" is, immediately apparent when one realises that this "state" on which the citizens have now overtly become mere parasites also has to consist of human beings "making a living" for themselves and there is no possible sense in expecting them to be self-sacrificing idealists "doing *our* thing" for us. If, in the members of the demos, there is no loyalty, no conscientiousness, no sense of a deep, inner duty to the whole, it must be inevitable that those who rule will be of the same kidney and with the powers *they* have, that must lead to almost unrestricted corruption as they look after "number one."

The essential point is that a real democracy consists of men *who rule themselves* (according to the structure of the community in which they live). If there are a sufficient number of these then the *way* in which the group is ruled is of secondary importance.

The man who claims that it has to be "undemocratic" when a group of men and women appoint one man to rule them, is not a democrat. He judges others by himself and he knows that, if he were given such a chance, he would not be able to resist the temptations it offered. "Ruling," to him, means exerting power over others *against their will* while democratic ruling means an organising and directing of the social and economic interrelationsihps of the members of the democracy. The cynic may not believe it but it has been done often, even without realising that it was something extraordinary.

To round off this argument, we can now make the following statements.

A group of people can be ruled either by power (that is: by "fear of punishment") or by a common knowledge and acceptance of "how it should be." If they are ruled by power, the will of the ruler *is* the law.

This rule will last only as long as the ruler is able—or willing—to punish. If he tires, gets bored with it or weakens (or becomes more concerned with his own personal pleasures)—or when he starts to aspire to the luxury of becoming "ethical" instead of ruthless (where it seems necessary)—he is lost and is ploughed under. At best he can (within the framework of his mastership and "from strength") try to apply his personal sense of "justice," thereby ameliorating, to a certain extent, the need for suppression. Nevertheless his rule remains contingent on his ability to instil fear and the obeying is done because of fear and not (normally) because that is what the subject wants to do—or feels that he should do.

The latter is, or should be, the rule in a democracy. Therefore, a democracy *needs* no "laws that have to be obeyed." At best its laws are a formulation of the rules of conduct agreed

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upon by all and merely verbalised as a guide to decisions where there is legitimate doubt as far as civil law is concerned. Criminal law is there to rule those in the community *who are not democrats* and who, therefore, *have to be ruled by power* (*and fear*). It is as simple as that.

In this context, the democrats are in the same position as the tyrant. It is *their* will that is expressed in the law and, when they too (like the tyrant) lose the will to punish, when they tire, or become afraid, or too much concerned with the luxuries their way of life makes available to them, or, most important, when they become "ethical" instead of ruthless, their democracy is lost and they will also be ploughed under.

At best they can (within the framework of their mastership) and "from strength"—not as a "must" but as a gesture of good will—apply their personal sense of justice by formulating a "law" that will lay down the "rules of the game." This law the criminals will not accept as valid and they will feel themselves free to break it, but, if strictly applied it will give them a dependable framework in which they can find the possibility of survival, thus making them less "desperate" and more easy to control.

Now, in our time, as what democrats there are left have become tired and fearful and full of undeserved twinges of bad conscience, doubting their "right" to punish because "understanding is forgiving" (and no one wishes to declare himself "unable to understand," or "vengeful") all of it against the background of the impracticable, but oh so wonderful chimera composed of ethical and brotherly ideals absorbed in their nurseries, we can say:

"Democracy is dead!
Long live Sthenocracy!"

It is, however, also true that this new name (indicating a rule by the strong and the aggressively virile) is still hopelessly idealistic. In this age of the "equaliser" (which makes it unnecessary for David to acquire the skill of using his sling to kill his Goliath) it is obvious that ruling will no longer be decided by "one man, one vote." It will be by some form of what is now so crudely, being demonstrated in Angola: election by "one gun, one vote."

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The Reality of Race

By JOHN R. BAKER

In recent years there has been a tendency among social anthropologists in many parts of the world to treat man as though he were more distinct from other animals than in fact he is. Many of them accept the evolution of man intellectually without really facing the facts that man is basically an animal and that he resembles very many other terrestrial ones (including his nearest living relative, the chimpanzee) in being classifiable into races.

We need to look back to a period when there were great men who did not shrink from accepting and expounding the facts disclosed by sciences, however unwelcome these might be to many people. "Anthropology," wrote T. H. Huxley[1] more than a century ago, "is a section of ZOOLOGY . . . the problems of ethnology are simply those which are presented to the zoologist by every widely distributed animal he studies." In these words he expressed a fact that is indeed familiar to modern zoologists, namely, the reality of race. The study of man would become less inhibited and more realistic if every student of anthropology could have an opportunity to attend a course of instruction in the principles of taxonomy, given by an authority on this rather difficult but very important subject, on which a large body of knowledge and understanding has been built up by those who have devoted themselves to the study of animal life.

A *species* may be roughly defined as an interbreeding group. If a terrestrial species is very widely distributed, it may be found to differ in physical characters in different parts of its range. The technical term for the main divisions of a species is *subspecies*. It is convenient to use the word *race* as equivalent to subspecies, and this practice is followed in the present article. The Europids (so-called "Caucasoids"), Negrids (Negroes of Africa), and Mongolids (Mongolians and their relatives) may be quoted as examples of races. Most human races are divisible into subraces; for instance, the Nordids, Mediterranids, and Alpinids are some of the subraces of the Europid race. Here and there one finds "local forms" of mankind, recognizably different in trivial characters from other members of their race or subrace.

It follows, from the rough definition of a species given in the preceding paragraph, that hybrid individuals exist; for if races did not hybridize to some extent, they would not be races, but separate species (or separate *Formenkreise*). Hybrid individuals may show all degrees of intermediacy between one ancestral race

[1] T. H. Huxley, "On the Methods and Results of Ethnology," *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 1, pp. 257-277.

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and another. It has occasionally happened that interbreeding between races has occurred on a very large scale in the distant past; and as a result, there has been an opportunity for a certain degree of intermediacy to be favoured by selective pressure. In this way what is sometimes called a *Kontaktrasse* or "hybrid race" may originate. In such cases, the phsyical characters of one of the races usually predominate in the hybrid. If so, the hybrids are best regarded as forming a hybrid subrace of the race that they more closely resemble. Thus the Aethopids of Ethiopia are probably best regarded as a hybrid subrace of the Europid race.

To describe a human race or subrace in its most typical form (commonly at some distance from the hybrid zone that intervenes between itself and neighbouring races or subraces), it is necessary to apply the principles that are universally accepted in the classification of animals: that is to say, to take into consideration, so far as possible, *all* the characters by which it tends to differ from typical members of other races or subraces. This principle governs every grade in classification, from the major divisions such as the vertebrates (with their allies) and molluscs, down to races and subraces (and indeed to local forms).

The satisfactory grouping of mankind into races was delayed, even into the first quarter of the present century, by the tendency of certain anthropologists to rely on methods that no one trained in the principles of classification would have accepted for a moment. The grouping was sometimes done on the basis of single features, such as the form of the hair or even the colour of the skin, without sufficient attention being paid to the numerous characters that should have been considered.

Many differences between races are found in various parts of the body, especially in the external characters and in the skeleton (above all in the skull), but others occur in less obvious regions. For instance, the Europids have large odour-glands under the armpits and are smelly as a result (unless they wash frequently), while in the Mongolid race these glands are much less developed, and indeed the Tungus of central Asia (Tungid subrace of Mongolids) are said to be altogether devoid of odour originating in this part of the body. It is scarcely necessary to add that there are many characters, most of them very much more obvious, that distinguish typical members of the Mongolid race.

The genes that control the blood-group systems lend themselves readily to analysis by the ordinary techniques of genetics. The Second World War gave an impulse to the study of these systems, owing to their importance in blood-transfusion; but the purely scientific value of work in this field, so far as racial problems were concerned, was not so great as it might have been, for two independent reasons. First, the people to whom blood-

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grouping was applied were commonly classified by nationality, and thus not necessarily by racial affinity. Second, the genes that were studied were largely those that are found in human beings of most or all races, though they occur in different frequencies in different races. Interest was thus concentrated on characters that did not distinguish a particular person of one race from particular persons of other races. This necessarily spread the idea that races resembled one another more closely than in fact they do.

It must be remembered that although genetic analysis is scarcely possible in the distinction of the main classificatory grades from the species upwards (because interbreeding is generally impossible), an immense body of knowledge exists about the evolutionary relationships of more than a million species of animals, expressed by their classification into genera, families, orders, classes and phyla. If a geneticist works with a particular species of animal, he must state to what species it belongs; and he cannot do so unless he is willing to rely on distinctions between species based on knowledge that was not derived from study of the effects of single genes.

The principal characters that distinguish typical members of different races of man from one another are mostly controlled by " polygenes "; that is to say, by the combined action of many genes having small but cumulative effects. An enormous number of examples could be given. For instance, the length of the forearm in relation to that of the upper arm is considerably greater in Negrids than in Europids; and the breadth of the skull in relation to its length is much less in Australids (Australian aborigines) than in Mongolids. Such features as these are controlled by polygenes. It is very difficult to analyse polygenes genetically, because the effect of each is too small to be observed separately; and in the case of man it is nearly always impossible in the present state of knowledge, because controlled matings cannot be made and the reproductive rate is too slow. It is an unfortunate fact that the concentration of attention on genes that can be analysed genetically has resulted in loss of interest in those characters, controlled by polygenes, that make it possible to distinguish a particular person of one race from particular persons of other races. The proper course is to use these primary distinguishing characters in the classification of mankind; only then, after the races and subraces have been recognized, is one in a position to study effectively the frequencies of those single genes that can be traced separately from generation to generation, and which occur in all or most races but more abundantly in some than in others. When this has been done, the frequencies can properly be cited as secondary characters of the taxa in question.

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Despite what has just been said, it is legitimate in certain particular circumstances for studies of characters determined by single genes to go forward concurrently with others in which morphological features controlled by polygenes are taken into consideration. This happens in somewhat isolated districts where hybridity has occurred in the distant past, but unequally in different regions within the district. A tendency to local intermarriage, continued from generation to generation, would preserve slight average differences. In such cases it may be impossible to place individual persons in separate taxa on the evidence of morphological characters, and there is therefore no question of recognizing different races or subraces or obvious local forms; but *average* differences may be revealed between the populations of zones, perhaps only some 10 or 20 kilometres in diameter, by statistical studies of haematological and morphological data.

The population of the little peninsula of Gargano, which projects about 45 kilometres from the Italian coast into the Adriatic Sea, appears to provide an example of what has been described in general terms in the preceding paragraph. This little peninsula is included in the large part of southern Italy that is inhabited by people who appear to be basically Mediterranids, modified to varying degrees by hybridization with Dinarids from the Balkan coast.[2] By means of a detailed statistical investigation of the people of this peninsula, Corrain and Pesarin[3] have shown that its northern, eastern, southern, and central zones are inhabited by populations that are significantly different from one another, on average, in certain features determined by the action of single genes (for instance, the percentage of persons belonging to blood-groups A, B, and M) and also in certain morphological features controlled by polygenes (among them the principal dimensions of the head and face, the form of the ears and lips, and the span of the extended arms).

A very strange situation has arisen from the tendency of many anthropologists to rely on single-gene differences readily susceptible to genetic analysis, in *preference* to morphological evidence, in attempts to determine the racial affinities of man. An actual example will illustrate this point. Bodmer and Cavalli-

[2] C. S. Coon, *The Races of Europe*, Macmillan, New York, 1939; H. F. K. Günther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, Lehman, München, 1926, gives a photograph of Puccini as an example of a person of this type. He describes him as "Predominantly Mediterranid—probably with Dinarid influence" ("Vorwiegend westiche — wahrschenlich mit dinarischen Einschlag").

[3] C. Corrain and F. Pesarin, "La distribution des caractères hématologiques et métriques chez les populations du Gargano et des Iles Tremiti (Pouilles, Italie)," *L'Anthropologie*, Vol. 77, pp. 93-106.

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Sforza[4] remark that "The inheritance of the more conspicuous face and body traits . . . is complex and not well understood, which decreases their value for the biological study of race"; and they go on to tell us how much better it is to rely on gene-frequencies. As an example they quote the differences between Mongolid ("Oriental") and Europid ("Caucasian") populations in the frequencies of the genes that determine the blood-groups of the ABO system.[5] But how did they know that the Mongolids from whom blood specimens were taken *were* Mongolids? The fact is that they were only able to give particulars about differences in blood-group frequencies *because* it was legitimate to rely on morphological evidence as to who was a Mongolid and who a Europid; and that is something that cannot be done by determining the blood-group in the ABO system of any particular person.

Some authors are inclined to draw the conclusion that there are no differences between two populations (i.e. that they should be regarded as parts of a single population) if the statistical methods they have chosen to employ have revealed no differences. There is serious danger of error in drawing this conclusion. In any general study of this kind, the investigator must decide in advance which characters he will measure or count. If any two populations are found by these methods to show significant differences, they are recognized as distinct, and to this there can be no objection. If, however, significant differences are not found, it should *not* be concluded that the two populations are indistinguishable, for they may differ greatly in characters that were not chosen for study. The reason for this is clear enough. The statistician chooses for study those characters that happen to be best suited for statistical work, whether or not, in particular cases, those characters are ones that actually distinguish one race or subrace from another. The taxonomist, on the contrary, concentrates his attention on every observable character that enables him to recognize differences between one race or subrace and another.

To illustrate this, let us suppose that when an investigator decides to choose a set of characters on which to rely, in a

[4] W. F. Bodmer and L. L. Cavalli-Sforza, "Intelligence and Race," *Scientific American*, Vol. 223, No. 4, pp. 19-29.

[5] It may be mentioned incidentally that the frequencies of the genes G^A, G^B, and G of the ABO system are somewhere near 0.28; 0.20; 0.52 respectively in most Mongolid populations. Bodmer and Cavalli-Sforza give the proportions as 49 per cent; 18 per cent; 65 per cent, which add up to the remarkable total of 132 per cent. There must be a misprint here. (The symbols used in the present article for the genes of the blood-group systems are those suggested by E. B. Ford in "A Uniform Notation for the Human Blood Groups," *Heredity*, Vol. 9, pp. 135-142.)

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general statistical study of differences between races, he selects for the purpose three cranial characters and three concerned with the blood, as follows: 1, cranial capacity; 2, the greatest breadth of the skull; 3, its breadth expressed as a percentage of its length; 4, frequency in the MNL system of the gene Ag^M; 5, frequency in the same system of the gene-complex Ag^NL^B; and 6, frequency in the Rhesus system of the gene-complex $C^AD^AE^A$. He uses these characters to determine whether there is any statistically significant difference between the native populations of parts of eastern Asia on one hand, and of remote districts of Australia on the other. On the evidence of every one of the six characters he distinguishes sharply between the populations of these two parts of the world. This is not surprising, since Mongolids differ obviously from Australids in many characters.

But now let us suppose that the investigator decides to compare the same populations of eastern Asia with those of certain parts of central Europe, by the use of the *same* six characters. If he were to do so, he would be seriously at fault; for he would be unlikely to find a statistically significant difference between them in any of the six characters, despite the fact that these two groups of people are so different from one another that they are not only distinguishable from one another at a glance by persons wholly untrained in physical anthropology (without regard to the rather slight difference in skin-colour), but are placed by physical anthropologists in different *races*, the Mongolid and Europid (Alpinid subrace) respectively.[6]

The example just given is an extreme one, deliberately chosen to illustrate an important source of error that causes differences between populations to be minimized or overlooked. More numerous characters are ordinarily selected for study in work of this sort, and the risk of making such a serious error is thus reduced; but it is not eliminated.

[6] This paragraph and the preceding one are based mainly on data extracted from tables of measurements and frequencies published by G. M. Morant, "A Study of the Australian and Tasmanian Skulls Based on Previously Published Measurements," *Biometrica*, Vol. 19, 1927, pp. 417-440; M. Reicher, "Untersuchungen über die Schädelform der abendlandischen und mongolischen Brachycephalen. 2. Vergleich der alpenlandischen brachycephalen Schädel mit den mongoliden," *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie*, Vol. 16, 1914, pp. 1-64; A. E. Mourant, *The distribution of human blood groups.* Oxford Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford, 1954; and I. Schwidetzky (editor), *Die neue Rassenkunde*, Gustav Fischer, Stuttgart, 1962.

It must be mentioned that no figures are available for the frequencies of the gene Ag^M or for that of the gene-complexes Ag^NL^B or $C^AD^AE^A$, among persons actually identified as Alpinids. One must form a general impression from the data obtained in those countries and districts in which Alpinids form a considerable part of the population.

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In many mammals there are considerable differences between one race and another, but it is doubtful whether there is any other mammal in which the races differ so much as do those of man. In this respect there is a genuine difference between us and them. Many human subraces differ more from one another than the races of other mammals do; of this the Nordids and Alpinids provide an example. If the reader is inclined to doubt the extent of physical interracial differences among mankind, he may care to look at the chapter on the anatomy of the Sanids (Bushmen) of southern Africa, in a recently published book.[7] One may doubt whether there is any species of wild mammal in which interbreeding between races would occur, if they differed so much in physical characters as do those of mankind: the races would have become incipient species.

The fact is that man is a self-domesticated animal; and domestication, in man and other mammals alike, tends to reduce sensitivity in the recognition of "own kind" in the selection of sexual mates.[8] In the circumstances of tribal life or other forms of local segregation, there is little opportunity for hybridization, except at the fringes of racial or subracial territory; but when tribes gather into larger communities and thus become strong enough to roam widely, opportunities occur more frequently for interbreeding between peoples differing markedly in physical characters. Technological advance acts in the same direction as domestication. Already in 1885 Dr John Beddoe,[9] a British anthropologist, remarked that the extension of railways would "inextricably confuse" the various subraces (or "races," as he called them) of Europe. Although at the present day one may see many typical Mediterranids, Alpinids, and Nordids as one travels through western Europe, one does not fail to notice the considerable proportion of persons who cannot be assigned to any particular one of these three subraces of the Europid race. It seems quite possible that if present tendencies continue, anthropologists of the distant future will recognize and name a triple (or multiple) hybrid subrace. The same tendency to intersubracial fusion has occurred on a larger scale in the U.S.A., and interbreeding has indeed gone much further in that country, since a massive population of interracial hybrids has been formed.

Self-domestication, aided in recent times by technological advances, is not the only difficulty with which the taxonomist is confronted in his attempts to classify mankind. There is also the fact that the diifferences ordinarily regarded as racial might

[7] J. R. Baker, *Race*, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.

[8] J. R. Baker, *op. cit.*

[9] J. Beddoe, *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe*, Arrowsmith, Bristol, 1885.

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be thought to rank more properly at some higher taxonomic grade. This might be the *Truncus* of Peters,[10] in whose classification such taxa as the Europids, Mongolids, and Negrids belong to this grade, while the Nordids, Mediterranids, and Alpinids are races instead of subraces. If this were allowed, "species" might be regarded as an unsuitable term for a *group* of incipient species, partly linked together as a side-effect of domestication. The only term that seems appropriate for the purpose is the *Realgattung* of Kant,[11] who defined it simply as an interbreeding group. Kleinschmidt's *Formenkreis*[12] is a possible alternative, since it did include incipient species; but it has the disadvantage that he applied it not only to interbreeding forms but also to those that replaced one another geographically but did *not* interbreed. Kant rejected the term "species" altogether, regarding it as a product of what he rather contemptuously called the *Schulsystem*.[13] In this particular matter, few taxonomists of the present day are likely to agree with the great philosopher; but it may not be unreasonable to regard *Realgattung* as the proper taxonomic term to replace "species" in the case of *Homo sapiens*.

The ideas put forward in this paper may be briefly summarized as follows.

Certain methods used at the present time in anthropological research lead almost inevitably to an underestimation of the reality of race. The concept of race, in its application to man, is in fact valid; indeed, the question is not whether we should discard the concept, but whether we should upgrade the race to a higher taxonomic rank; for the races of man, in their typical forms, differ more from one another in physical characters than do those of other mammals. The degrees of difference between many human subraces of the same race (for instance, those between a Nordid and an Alpinid) correspond more nearly with those who separate the races of most mammalian species. It may perhaps be best to regard the subspecies or races of man as potential incipient species that have become blended together by an amount of interbreeding that would not have occurred

[10] H. B. Peters, "Die wissenschaftlichen Namen der menschlichen Körperformgruppen: eine Zusammenstellung nach den internationalen Nomenklaturregeln," *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde,* Vol. 6, 1937, pp. 211-241.

[11] I. Kant, "Bestimmung des Begriffs einer Menschenrace," 1785, reprinted in *Kant's gesammelte Schriften,* Vol. 8, Reimer, Berlin, 1912.

[12] O. Kleinschmidt (no title to paper), *Journal für Ornithologie,* Vol. 45, 1897, pp. 518-519; *Die Formenkreislehre und das Weltwerden des Lebens, Gebauer-Schwetschke,* Halle-S., 1926.

[13] I. Kant, "Von den verschiedenen Racen der Menschen," 1775, reprinted in *Kant's gesammelte Schriften,* Vol. 2, Reimer, Berlin, 1912.

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among the incipient species of any wild mammal. The extent of this interbreeding is to be attributed to domestication, which leads, in man as in other animals, to a reduction of sensitivity in the selection of sexual mates.

It is for the men and women of the present day and of the future to decide whether some voluntary limitation of intermarriage between widely divergent stirpes* would act for the benefit of the *Realgattung* of mankind.

* The word "stirps" (plural stirpes) has recently been introduced as an inclusive technical term to cover the race, subrace, and local form, wherever it is not wished to specify any particular one of these three taxa (J. R. Baker, *op. cit.*). If the term *Truncus* is acceptable, it must be included with the other three under the general term of stirps.

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Christian Name Patterns of the Men of the Principal Clans in Sutherland 1678-1834

by ROBERT L. MACKAY

It has been shown by Withycombe[1] that the commonest Christian names for men, after the compulsory registration of baptisms in England, beginning 1850, were and still are, William, John and Thomas. This finding has prompted a study of the Christian names favoured by the 11 most numerous clans in Sutherland in the late seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An earlier survey of 2,181 Mackays[2] showed that nine names each occurred with a frequency of over 4 per cent, followed by a gap, and then by a few names between 2 per cent and 1 per cent, and thereafter by a great variety in fractional percentages. This result indicated the form this present investigation should take, and further suggested that the Mackays, numerically the strongest clan in the county, should be used as a basis for comparisons among the other ten clans.

Available for analysis of Christian name patterns are six acceptable lists of names[3] covering the county area well in the period 1678-1834, approximately five generations, and including the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 which did not greatly affect the county, and the Highland Clearances which disturbed it considerably. Clans with headquarters or main bases outside the county are included only so far as their numbers resident within the county boundary are concerned. These clans are named and their numbers shown in the table. Other clans

[1]*Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names,* 1960, pp. xxvii and xlvi.

[2]THE ARMORIAL, Vol. 6, No. 3, December 1974, pp. 203-211.

[3]A list of the names of 2060 men, aged 16 to 60, in the nine parishes of the Sutherland Estate, 1745, deemed fit for military service to the Government in that year. From the Muniment Room in Dunrobin Castle by Courtesy of the Countess of Sutherland, and of Mr R. J. Adam, M.A., St Andrew's University; Judicial Rent Roll of the Reay Estate, 1789, containing 232 names, in Angus Mackay, *The Book of Mackay,* Norman Macleod, Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 475-480; I. H. Mackay-Scobie, *An Old Highland Fencible Corps,* Edinburgh, 1914, pp. 370-375. A Muster Roll of the Reay Fencibles, 1794, containing 776 names; James Loch, M.P., *The List of Subscribers to the Memorial to the First Duke of Sutherland,* 1834. This list was printed privately and contains 2200 names. A gift from Dr Ian Abrach Mackay of Glasgow; *The Book of Mackay, op. cit.,* pp. 471-475. A list of 223 names of 1678; Judicial Rent Roll of Bighouse Estate, 1819; *The Book of Mackay, op. cit.,* pp. 480-482. A list of 98 names.

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represented in Sutherland, such as Gordon, Fraser, Campbell, have been excluded from the analysis as their numbers were too small for adequate comparison to be made.

The Rent Rolls of the Reay Estate for 1678 and 1789, and for the Bighouse Estate for 1819, together with the Muster Roll of the Reay Fencibles for 1794, covered the north and north-west area of the county well, while the Military Service Lists of 1745 applied to the nine south-eastern parishes then comprising the Sutherland Estate. The subscription list to the Memorial Fund for the First Duke in 1834 embraced all 14 parishes in the county.

To assist in a speedy comprehension of the figures a line, of either single or double thickness, has been drawn right across the table between the names of Hugh and Thomas.

In the case of the Clans Gunn, Macdonald, Mackay, Munro and Sutherland this quite experimental line, where it is thickened, will be seen to be an effective barrier between their top nine or most favoured names, and their less favoured names below. The difference is striking. These five clans favour the same nine Christian names.

The percentages at the right side of the table show the onomasticon of 18 male Christian names, compiled from all six sources in the county. Over 82 per cent of males in the county bore the Christian names of John, Donald, William, Alexander, Hugh, George, Angus, Robert, James, in that order of popularity. Thereafter came Murdoch, Hector, Neil, Roderick and Thomas.

The table can be further analysed on the principal of a football league table which the nation accepts as a fair measure of a team's ability to score goals. Thus, here an asterisk is given to each of the nine most popular names in each individual clan. If all the asterisks are above the arbitrary Hugh-Thomas Line, the score for that clan is 9. If there is a challenge for ninth place a half point is deducted. With the Murrays, Thomas challenges Angus for ninth place, and the score is $8\frac{1}{2}$. The Rosses lose $1\frac{1}{2}$ points because Thomas displaces Robert, and Robert and Angus then contest for ninth place.

These markings may now be summarised as follows: —

Column A	*Points*	*Column B*	*Points*
Gunn	9	Mackenzie	8
Macdonald	9	Morrison	8
Mackay	9	Matheson	8
Munro	9	Ross	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Sutherland	9	Macleod	7
Murray	$8\frac{1}{2}$		

These marks are in no way merit awards. They are indices of the resemblances or differences of male Christian Name choice by each clan.

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COMMENT

All the clans in Column A, except the Macdonalds, may be regarded as either North or North-East Coast, or Province of Moray in origin or location. Historians for the Macdonalds and for the clans in Column B emphasise a descent from the Norsemen, and a location dominantly on the North-West and Western coasts, and on the Hebrides. It is suggested that the figures above show that there is an onomastic cleavage or area of separation comparable with the rough geographical one between the two groups. No explanation is here offered for the presence of the Macdonalds in Column A, other than that it may be adventitious.

The table is of further interest for it shows in Columns C, D and E below the paired, diminishing popularity of Roderick and Murdoch (both? Irish-Gaelic names) as one travels from West to East through the county and the increasing popularity of the biblical Anglo-Norman Thomas in the opposite direction, except in the Clan Murray. For the convenience of the reader the actual figures from the table have been converted into percentages, thus: —

	C	D	E
	Roderick	*Murdoch*	*Thomas*
Macleod	5.68	3.78	Nil
Mackenzie	2.53	5.55	1.01
Macdonald	2.36	2.36	1.41
Morrison	1.61	1.61	1.61
Ross	1.04	0.35	3.47
Mackay	0.37	1.79	0.94
Munro	0.44	0.44	0.44
Sutherland	0.24	0.24	0.73
Matheson	Nil	0.75	0.75
Murray	Nil	Nil	2.80
Gunn	Nil	Nil	Nil

The dominant Western clans, Macleod, Mackenzie and Macdonald are well bracketed together by these figures. Morrison and Ross may be regarded as intermediate. The remaining clans, dominantly Eastern, resemble each other fairly closely. The presence of the Mathesons among this last group may be due to the establishment in the fifteenth century of a branch of the clan around Loch Shin. It is admitted that the numbers examined are small (Roderick 38, Murdoch 52, Thomas 36) but they do suggest some name specialising "below the line" (i.e. of the rarer names) by some clans.

SUMMARY

The onomasticon for each of the 11 principal clans in Sutherland is shown for the period 1678-1834. There are considerable differences between the Western group of clans and the remainder with North-Eastern or Moray origins. Those clans in this latter group tend to resemble each other closely and to exhibit less variability than do the clans in the West of the county.

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Christian names of men in eleven most numerous Clans in Sutherland, 1678-1834

CHRISTIAN NAMES ↓ / CLANS →	*Gunn*	*Macdonald*	*MacKay*	*MacKenzie*	*Macleod*	*Matheson*	*Morrison*	*Munro*	*Murray*	*Ross*	*Sutherland*	**Totals**	
John	25*	42*	182*	41*	65*	35*	8*	40*	42*	62*	84*	626	
William	23*	35*	115*	19*	34*	13*	11*	20*	20*	33*	46*	369	
Donald	24*	19*	129*	21*	34*	13*	8*	34*	11*	37*	48*	378	
Alexander	22*	27*	118*	20*	26*	17*	1	22*	24*	32*	45*	354	
George	10*	11*	73*	7*	21*	5*	6*	22*	15*	14*	24*	208	= 82·85%
James	9*	6*	46*	7*	5	10*	2*	13*	13*	15*	30*	156	
Robert	9*	14*	75*	6	6	7*	3*	10*	15*	7	26*	178	
Angus	5*	8*	87*	8*	35*	4	4*	10*	5	7	17*	190	
Hugh	8*	12*	82*	18*	20*	9*	10*	12*	12*	23*	20*	226	
Thomas		3	10	2		1	1	1	5	10*	3	36	
Murdo(ch)		5	19	11*	12*	1	1	1		1	1	52	
Charles	1	1	4		2		1		1	1	11	22	
Andrew	1	1	9		1	1		7	3	6		29	
Ian											1	1	= 17·15%
Neil	2	1	15	1	7	5*	1	2			5	39	
Hector	2	3	17	4	2	1	2*	7	1	1		40	
Eric			1	1								2	
Roderick		5	4	5	18*		1	1		3	1	38	
All others	13	19	75	27	29	12	2	24	12	36	48	297	
Totals	154	212	1,061	198	317	134	62	226	179	288	410	3,241	

Murdo displaces Robert

Murdo and Roderick in

Neil displaces Angus

Hector ousts Alexander

Contest Angus versus Thomas

Contest Robert versus Angus

Thomas in

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Study of the Maturation of the EEG Among Twins

By G. CARELS, E. DEFRISE-GUSSENHOVEN and R. VANDERVOORT*

On the basis of the electroencephalographic resemblances observed in the same family or among pairs of monozygotic twins, numerous authors conclude that the EEG is genetically determined (Lennox *et al.*, 1945; Weiss and Rudkowka, 1962; Vogel, 1965; Heuschert, 1965). Beaussart, *et. al.* (1959) similarly believe that this examination can serve as a criterion for the diagnosis of monozygosity.

We have tried to verify if the study of the maturation of the EEG leads to the same conclusions. We have compared the degree of maturation of the cortical electrogenesis among pairs of twins diagnosed as concordant or discordant on the basis of the ABO, MN, and Rh blood groups. We addressed ourselves to the study of infants and adolescents. It is known that among these groups the EEG contains, in addition to the alpha-rhythm, theta waves with frequencies of four-sevenths of a second, and delta waves with frequencies less than a fourth of a second. These slow waves progressively decrease with age, disapeparing in the normal adult. At a given age their number is extremely variable from one subject to the next. The degree of maturation of the EEG can, therefore, be estimated in a simple manner by evaluating the proportion of slow waves in the tracing.

Our study was conducted, on the one hand, on 24 pairs of twins concordant with respect to blood group, with an average age of 10.5 years (range of 6-18 years) and, on the other hand, on 34 pairs of discordant twins, with an average age of 9.3 years (range of 6-16 years). The subjects were of rural origin and belonged to the same socio-economic group. The mean I.Q. was 92.8 for the concordant twins and 93.5 for the discordant subjects.

The analysis of the EEG at rest, made by an examiner unaware of the zygotic type of the subjects, showed a similarity of the tracing among members of the same twin pair for 60 per cent of the concordant twins and for 1.1 per cent of the discordant twins. In addition, the following parameters of the EEG

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Translated from the French by Donald A. Swan.

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were measured on the tracing derived from the left parieto-occipital region: alpha index, frequency of the alpha rhythm, number of alpha, theta, and delta waves per minute. These measures were made on the tracing taken at rest, as well as during a hyperventilation, an arithmetic calculation, and an opening of the eyes. The results of the r test show that the diverse parameters are more alike among the concordant twins of the same pair than among the discordant twins. The results of the F test establish that the difference in the degree of similarity is significant for, on the one hand, the number of delta waves during the arithmetic calculation ($0.025 < P < 0.050$) and, on the other hand, for the alpha index ($P < .001$) and the frequency of the alpha rhythm during the movement of the eyes ($P < .001$). F is near the 0.95 level of significance for the number of theta and delta waves during hyperventilation. As a basis of comparison we point out that the result of the same test applied to the height of the subjects attained the level of significance ($P = 0.05$).

In summary, our observations show that among infant and adolescent twins:

(1) The EEG parameters taken at rest which we have studied are not sufficient for the diagnosis of monozygosity, although they demonstrate a genetic participation in the maturation of the EEG:

(2) The modifications of the tracings induced by hyperventilation, visual stimulation, and mental work are interesting and merit a more thorough study conducted on a larger number of subjects.

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Rating of Professions

By HENRY H. REITER and EDWARD SCHMIERER

A previous study (Reiter, 1965) reported that 33 physicians tended to regard osteopaths and podiatrists more favourably than chiropractors. It was concluded that physicians had not modified their negative views concerning chiropractors despite recent changes in license regulations. The present study attempted to re-evaluate the same problem but this time added clinical psychologists, speech therapists, and physical therapists to be evaluated.

METHOD

Forty-nine randomly selected physicians were given the questionnaire which appears below. All physicians were licensed in New York State and were in individual practice. Of the 49, 17 were general practitioners, eight surgeons, 10 internists, and four obstetricians. A five-point rating scale was employed: (1) extremely unfavorable; (2) moderately unfavorable; (3) neither favorable nor unfavorable; (4) moderately favorable; and (5) extremely favorable.

Each physician rated all of the professions concerned for each of the following questions: —

1. Do you feel there is a specific need for each of these professions?
2. Your attitudes towards the current policy of licensing and restrictions are. . . .
3. Do you feel that each group is adequately trained, qualified, and competent?
4. Rate your preference of referring to each.
5. Do you feel your hospital should have staff representatives of each profession?
6. Would you agree to working with representatives of these professions at the hospital?
7. If you would agree to working with these professions in the hospital, but not refer your own patients, please comment.
8. Do you feel there is a shortage of these professional people?
9. How do you view the success of each profession?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 presents comparisons of median rating of unfavorable/favorable rankings by the sample of physicians to eight questions requiring ranked responses concerning the five professions being evaluated.

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TABLE 1

Median Rating of unfavorable-favorable responses by 49 physicians about chiropractors, psychologists, osteopaths, speech and physical therapists

Question	*Chiro.*	*Psych.*	*Osteo.*	*Speech*	*Physical*
1	1.37	4.08	2.96	4.78	4.82
2	1.54	3.82	3.57	4.18	4.20
3	1.30	3.65	3.18	4.17	4.45
4	1.30	3.60	2.38	4.22	4.48
5	1.20	3.40	3.00	4.38	4.78
6	1.22	4.04	3.32	4.61	4.89
7	1.24	3.47	2.54	3.82	4.75
8	1.63	3.57	3.15	4.25	4.45
Total rank	1.34	3.71	3.01	4.30	4.60

A Kruskal-Wallis Analysis of Variance was performed on the data reported in Table 1. A significant chi square was obtained ($x_2 = 119$, $p < .01$). This indicated that there was an overall difference in the rankings (medians) for the various professions, all questions considered. Specific t-tests were done with the following results: chiropractors were ranked significantly lower ($p < .01$) than at least two other professions on every question; physical therapists and speech therapists were ranked most favorable most often; osteopaths were second lowest, although significantly higher than chiropractors at all times; psychologists tended to place third in the rankings, although their rankings were always significantly higher than chiropractors and osteopaths, while they were significantly lower than the speech and physical groups on only three of the eight questions.

Note that of 80 possible comparisons, 49 significant t's were obtained. Kendall correlation coefficients were computed between judges to ascertain degree of agreement of ratings. Obtained coefficients ranged from +0.43 to 0.77, suggesting a fairly good degree of concordance.

The results of the present investigation indicated that physicians still tend to hold chiropractors in low esteem, and their views of osteopaths tend to be low too. Speech and physical therapists were generally ranked very highly. Clinical psychologists were seen in a favorable light, although somewhat lower than the two highest ranked professional groups.

These findings imply that more positive communication is needed between certain professions, especially where chiropractors and osteopaths are concerned.

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Scientific Abstracts

By R. H. S. ROBERTSON

CHROMOSOME POLYMORPHISM IN AMERICAN NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATIONS

Nature, London, Vol. 233, 1971, pp. 135-137.

The biological and clinical implications of variations of human chromosome lengths are poorly understood.

In the study we now report, minor variations in chromosome length are correlated with clinical and sociological data obtained from each patient for 4482 consecutively born infants. By far the strongest correlations were between certain minor chromosome variants and race. Most variants showing a racial difference of frequency were twice as common in Negroes as in Caucasians.

* * *

Full details of the study are given by H. A. Lubs, University of Colorado Medical Centre, and F. H. Ruddle, Department of Biology, Yale University.

Journals Received

REVISTA ESTUDIOS POLITICOS
Published by the Instituto de Estudios Politicos, Madrid 8, Spain, Nos. 206-207. Price $3.50.

NEUE ANTHROPOLOGIE
A quarterly journal published by Gesellschaft für Biologische Anthropologie Eugenik und Varhaltenforschung, Hamburg, West Germany, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1976.

SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE
Published three times a year by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Edinburgh. Vol. 92, No. 2, 1976. Society membership £3 a year.

POPULATION
Revue Bimestrielle de l'Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques, Paris, Vol. 31, Nos. 4-5, 1976. Price F22.00.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REVIEW
Quarterly journal published by the Centre for Migration Studies, Washington D.C. Vol. 10, No. 34, 1976. Price $5.00.

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JOURNAL OF INDO-EUROPEAN STUDIES

A quarterly journal published from Box 5224, S. Station, Hattiesburg, Mississippi 39401. Vol. 3, No. 3, 1975. Price $18.00 a year.

ALASKA

Monthly journal published by Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, Anchorage, Alaska, Vol. XLII, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 1976. Price $1.00.

STUDIES IN PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Published twice a year by the Institute of Anthropology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Kuznicza 35, 50-951 Wroclaw, Poland, No. 2, 1975. Price 30 zlotys.

MATERIALY I PRACE ANTROPOLOGICZNE

Published by Zaklad Antropologii Akademii Nauk, Wroclaw, Breslaw. Vol. 91, 1976. Price 35 zlotys.

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Published quarterly by the Council on American Affairs, Washington D.C. 20036. Vol. 1, No. 2, April 1976. Price $4.00.

SOUTH AFRICA INTERNATIONAL

Published quarterly by the South Africa Foundation, P.O. Box 7006, Johannesburg, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1976. Price R1.00.

ACTA BIOLOGICA

Published by Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, Szeged, Hungary. Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-4, 1975.

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Published quarterly at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio 43022, U.S.A. Vol. 26, Nos. 2, 3, 1976. Price $3.00.

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Quarterly journal published from P.O. 1306, Torrance, California 90505, U.S.A. Vol. CXII, No. 521, 1976. Price $6.00 a year.

FOLKLORE

Published monthly by Indian Publications, 3 British India Street, Calcutta. Vol. 17, Nos. 3, 4, 1976.

MONTALBAN

Published yearly by Univiersidad Catolica A. Bello, Caracas, Venezuela. No. 5, 1976.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Published quarterly by U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris. Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, 1976. Price F16.00.

ETHNOLOGY

Published quarterly by the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260, U.S.A., Vol. XV, No. 3. Price $10 per year.

HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Published monthly by Manson Western Corporation, Los Angeles, California 90025. Vol. 5, No. 8, 1976. Price $1.50.

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Book Reviews

THE SPHINX AND THE MEGALITHS

By John Ivimy. Turnstone, London, 1974. Pp. 208, illustrations and diagrams. Price £2.95.

This book is highly speculative. It jumps to conclusions which are not to be found, at present, in prehistory. But, having said that, it contains much which is worth pondering over.

It argues that the stone monuments of north-west Europe were created by Egyptians settling among the native peoples at the end of the third millennium B.C. Whether they were erected by Egyptians or not, these monuments, such as Stonehenge, are the works of a highly educated people.

The writer cites the recent controversies in which the archaeologists are ranged against the astronomers. Professors Hapgood, Hoyle and Thomas, representing the latter, certainly appear to me to have the rights of this controversy, and it seems hard to believe that the stone circles were not for astronomical purposes. They were not the works of simple, illiterate savages.

He mentions the map of Piri Re'is which shows Antarctica *before* it was glaciated about B.C. 4000 and which, to me, has suggested that there have been past civilisations capable of accurate geodetical and astronomical work. In other words, civilisation is older than we think. This map also gives the coast of America and, that being so, throws open the whole problem of "Egyptian" and other Old World cultures bearing upon America, and so creating parallels which we find in Old and New World civilisations.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

By Douglas L. Oliver (revised edition). University of Hawaii, 1975. Pp. 456, 32 maps and illustrations. Price $4.95.

This book begins, as all books should but few do, with an account of the ethnology of the region. In geological time Malaysia consisted of large islands separated by shallow seas. East of this was Sundaland and east again was Wallacea, and then lay Papualand, and a united Australia and New Guinea.

The first people were the small Negritoes, possibly pushed out of Asia south-eastwards as others were pushed south-westwards, to finish in Africa. Also, at an early date, the Ainoid appeared in Australia—a "white" branch of the same stock as the Ainu of Japan. They settled mainly in the south of Australia. After them came the Veddoid, related to the Vedda of India and Ceylon, who settled in the north of Australia. The Negritoes are a forest-loving people and related to the Andamanese.

The Indonesian or Malay type evolved from a cross between Mediterranean (which reached into Indonesia) and Mongoloid. Pushing eastwards they became the Polynesians.

I would challenge, however, the author's statement: "Science has yet to prove any correlation between cerebral attainments and race." I should have thought it was amply proved, not only in the state, for instance, in which the Australoids were found, but in their subsequent I.Q.s (p. 26).

Anyway, there are some 80 pages concerned with ethnology—and that is a change in this type of book, and makes it of real value.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

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STONE AGE CRISIS: A PSYCHIATRIC APPRAISAL

By B. G. Burton-Bradley. Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., 1975. Pp. 128. Price $8.95.

Dr Burton-Bradley first went to Papua New Guinea (1959) as Chief of the Mental Health Services. The tempo of life was still slow. However, the processes of modernisation came with the influx of overseas capital. *Stone Age Crisis: A Pyschiatric Appraisal* records the social and pyschological effects of Western patterns on this small island country.

Dr Burton-Bradley was not only the first psychiatrist in Papua New Guinea but, for most of the last 16 years, the only psychiatrist among two and a half million people. He describes the influence of outside ideas on primitive people. He writes about cargo cults, suicide, the phenomenon of running amok, the status of mixed-raced persons, and psychiatric problems among nonliterate peoples.

The problem of the mixed-race elements (native × European; native × Chinese, etc.) is interesting. They tend to fall between the European and natives and appear to be disliked by both. This is partly psychological, but it may well be due to a break-up of the genes and making them unable to fit readily into either society.

"Status among these people is determined by occupational and racial criteria. The Caucasian component of the mixture is greatest in the upper, and least in the lower class. The whiter the individual, the easier the expression of the preferred European values" (p. 82).

ATHAPASKAN ADAPTATIONS: HUNTERS AND FISHERMEN IN THE SUBARCTIC FORESTS

By James A. Vaustone. Aldine, Chicago, 1974. Pp. 145, 23 illustrations, 3 maps. Price $7.50 (hardback), $2.95 (paperback).

This book is written by the curator of Northern American archaeology and ethnology at the Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

The Athapaskan Indians lie between the Eskimoes to the north and the Plains Indians to the south. This is the first book to survey the Northern Athapaskan area. It is a learned book written by one who knows his subject. It deals with all aspects of their way of life. In religion there is widespread interest in reincarnation in animal form (p. 59).

Shamamism is the religion of the people. The northern Athapaskan lived in a world of multitudinous spirits (p. 62). There were those connected with natural elements of nature, and which we might consider animistic and, on the other hand, those connected with the human spirit or soul, and, again, those connected with animals.

There is a belief among some of them that bad people when they died went to a special abode underground. Reincarnation, although it allowed for reappearing as an animal, on the whole did not.

The work illustrates the lives and beliefs of the Athapaskan Indians and marks a step forward in understanding these people.

A GUIDE TO ANCIENT MAYA RUINS

By C. Bruce Hunter, University of Oklahoma, 1974. Pp. 332, 132 illustrations, 23 colour plates, 18 maps and site plans. Price $9.95.

This is an adequately illustrated and comprehensive account of the Maya ruins. By B.C. 10000 America was inhabited by small communities from the Arctic to Tierra del Fuego. Sometime between B.C. 5000 and 2000 the domestication of animals and fruits had begun. As early as B.C. 600 the Mayas had emerged (p. 4), but declined between 900 and 300 A.D.

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MEDICINE IS THE LAW: STUDIES IN PSYCHIATRIC ANTHROPOLOGY OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBAL SOCIETIES

By John Cawte. University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1974, Pp. 261, four tables, one map, four plates. Price $10.50.

In dealing with the Aboriginal doctor, Cawte says that modern doctors have overlooked them. This is true elsewhere, apart from Australia.

A. A. Abbie is cited as giving the Australian native a proto-Caucasoid origin (p. 24), and not deriving him from Javanese *Pithecanthropus*. This could be so. But they might also be of Neanderthal strain—which, of course, could be related to the Caucasoid. Abbie holds that the Australians are strikingly homogenous. They are supposed to have come by raft, and carbon-14 dating gives 25,000 B.P.

The writer suggests that the sub-incision of the penis in the Aboriginal male is done to copy the marsupials—with which he is familiar—whose penis takes that form.

This is a book which gives some new thoughts on psychiatric anthropology.

LE SAHARA AVANT LE DESERT

By H. J. Hugot. Editions des Hespérides, B.P. 490, 31010 Toulouse Cedex, 1974. Pp. 343, nine charts, nine plates in colour, 206 illustrations. Price F90.00.

The author directs the department of the Museum of Prehistoria Sahara at the Museum of Bardo of Algiers. His researches are on the ancient peoples of the Sahara.

This book covers the whole of the Sahara before the dessication, so that Capsiens to the Peoples of the Sea, and the Egyptians, are dealt with. It indicates the migrations of many peoples and races.

On the engravings and the paintings on the rocks are depicted the many races which have crossed the Sahara.

In the course of this study he indicates how the Neanderthals entered Africa from the east, and the major movements are all from the east of the north.

It is a worth-while work and strongly recommended to all who are interested in the ethnology and the prehistory of the Sahara.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

PREHISTORY OF WESTERN SIBERIA

By V. N. Chernetsov and W. Moszynka, edited by Henry N. Michael. Arctic Institute of North America and McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and London, 1974. Pp. 277, 45 illustrations, 71 plates, two maps. Price £11.40.

This is a very diagnostic exposition of the prehistory of Western Siberia. It starts with the Neolithic of the Lower Ob region and goes on to the Eneolithic and Bronzes Ages on the Lower Ob and the early Iron Age. Part II deals with the material culture and economy of Ust Polny, Part III with the Ulst-Polny Period in the Ob region, while Part IV discusses the Lower Ob region in the first millennium A.D.

The result of these studies shows that a single culture existed in the Ob region in the first millennium A.D. The culture was Ugrian and it appears that the people had a knowledge of agriculture from a fairly early period. Horsebreeding was also common to them. They also made kayaks on the coast. The Samoyeds, who appeared between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. absorbed the original population. Russian and Turkic-speaking people were introduced into this region in the first half of the second millennium A.D.

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ANTHROPOLOGY: HISTORY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

By Margaret T. Hodgen. Published for the Wenner-Gren Foundation by University Press of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, 1974. Pp. 110, one chart, 12 maps. Price £4.50 (paperback).

Margaret Hodgen argues (and with some reason) that continuing change is bringing about a situation that everywhere man is subject to change by the impact of our civilisation and this promises for these cultures rapid extinction, until they take their places with the dodo and dinosaur. Only too soon, face-to-face observation of this category of cultures, as living behavioural entities, will no longer be possible. She takes the view that for the (cultural) anthropologist to turn to sociology is wrong, and that they have to fear the avoidance by the latter of rigorous historical inquiry would mean for the anthropologist a relaxation in this particular and important cultural problem (p. 95).

The authoress draws largely on the spread of Christianity at different periods (with maps).

LACANDON DREAM SYMBOLISM: DREAM SYMBOLISM AND INTERPRETATION AMONG THE LACANDON MAYAS OF CHIAPAS, MEXICO

By Robert D. Bruce, Ediciones Euroamericanas, Perugino, Mexico, 1975. Pp. 133, four colour plates, 12 black and white. Price $8.50 (paperback).

This book is of interest to anthropologists, psychiatrists and linguists. It provides accounts of innumerable dreams and how they would be interpreted by the Maya. By means of their dreams, for instance, they can remain in one place awaiting a stranger, and when he expresses surprise at seeing them say that they knew of his coming from their dreams (p. 18).

Speaking of their religion, he says that the Lacandons' resistance to proselytization by American missionaries was not a resistance to the religion of Jesus Christ, but to the missionaries themselves. As regards Christ, they have no difficulty in taking him into their system (pp. 9-10).

POWER, RACISM AND PRIVILEGE

By W. Wilson, Free Press, London, 1976. Pp. 224. Price £3.25.

This book compares the development of race relations in the U.S.A. and South Africa. The weakness of this book and many others like it is that the writer actually believes that what he calls "biological racism" is not a fact—that there are differences of race, established by thousands of years of different evolution, so that even where the races are afforded equality of treatment, they do not equalise.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

THE HUMAN ADVENTURE: AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY

By Gretel Pelto and Pertti J. Pelto. Collier-Macmillan, New York and London, 1976. Pp. 579, profusely illustrated. Price £6.95.

This is a very well illustrated work, both as regards pictures, diagrams, maps and figures. It is, of course, a popular work, but would be none the worse for that. It suffers from the defect of feeling it is necessary to quote uncritically the nonsense written by Ashley Montagu on race. No matter how much he pushes his ideas, or they are pushed by others, they are for all that, deficient in profundity.

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